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# Anti-Missionary

WITH REFERENCE TO

BY

WALTER F. F

*A Paper read before*

HONOLULU SOCIAL SCIENCE CLUB  
JANUARY 7,

*Printed by Request*

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HONOLULU, HAWAII  
1935

# Primary Criticism

REFERENCE TO HAWAII

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ER F. FREAR

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L SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

JARY 7, 1935

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Additional Notes and Appendices

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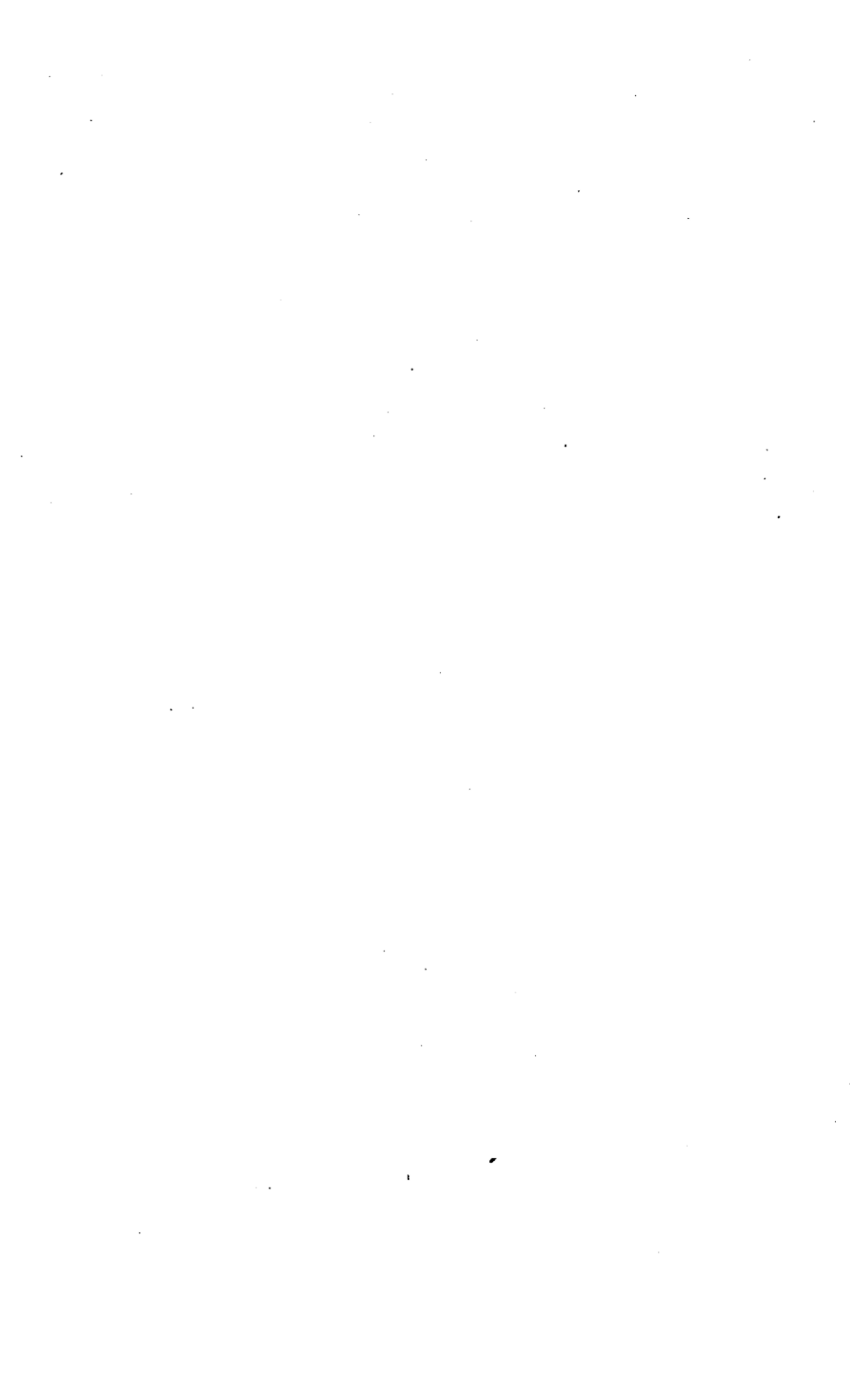
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# Anti-Missionary Criticism

WITH REFERENCE TO HAWAII

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WALTER F. FREAR

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## ANTI-MISSIONARY CRITICISM

WITH REFERENCE TO HAWAII

Aside from historic interest because of the large place anti-missionary criticism has occupied in Hawaii for a hundred and fifteen years, several things have suggested this subject at this time.

On our recent South Seas cruise, after visiting this or that island, passengers not infrequently expressed regret that missionaries had ever gone there, for of course to them were attributable the depopulation of the natives, their deprivation of pristine Elysian happiness, their exploitation and the termination of glamorous ancient ways which so many tourists are curious to see—criticisms of the like of which Hawaii's past has been so redolent. Doubtless, little do most of us realize the extent to which susceptible visitors to Hawaii are still regaled, usually under cover, with anti-missionary talk, especially on the still-common charges of "narrowness" and "stealing the land."

Naturally, a book much read on the cruise was Herman Melville's *Typee* (1846), but the author, not content to rest his laurels on that classic romance of the Marquesas, went out of his way to add an appendix as to Hawaii, grossly misrepresenting nearly every phase of the Paulet episode and vilifying the missionaries—apparently in all sincerity. Of this, more later (pp. 25-28).

Little, also, doubtless, do most of us realize how permeating right here among our own people even now is the anti-missionary vogue. For example, this college year a Chinese-Hawaiian freshman at the University, of good family, from one of the other islands, in a well-written essay, had something to say of certain "unscrupulous men of wealth, . . . church-going men 'of noble missionary stock' . . . whose grandfathers brought the word of God here, and acquired most of the land by a violation of the Seventh Commandment."<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, now as never before are we in a position properly to appraise the missionaries; for, aside from cumulative general historical research and publications, better perspective of the historical facts, such older revealing volumes of personal reminiscences as those of mothers Thurston and Judd and numerous publications by missionary fathers, sons, grandsons, daughters and others, the granddaughters are now producing a new and distinctive literature of exceptional merit as stories from a literary standpoint and as histories from the standpoint of extensive research, thus uncovering

<sup>1</sup>This was cleared up by discussion in the class.



a mass of new source material and presenting remarkably complete and intimate pictures of the missionaries treated and their times—their intellectual and cultural status, their aims and methods, views and sympathies, trials and discouragements, struggles and triumphs, courage and endurance, joys, tact, wit and humor—indeed pretty much their entire personalities, thoughts and doings, largely from their own letters and journals written as they went along but not for publication. There are Miss Damon's *Father Bond of Kohala and Koamalu* (2 vols.), Miss Alexander's *William Patterson Alexander*, and Mrs. Frear's *Lowell and Abigail*. Fortunately there are others on the way. Then, too, there is the *malihini* (newcomer) Miss McKee's *The Lord's Anointed*, a splendid book as such and to a degree enlightening, yet, although apparently put forth as an historical novel except for its admirable and beautifully hypocritical heroine, sufficiently unhistorical or one-sided or overdone, perhaps for artistic reasons, to mislead the general reader.

Under the fading influences of time and changing conditions, calumny of the missionaries, though continuing widespread, gradually came to be less open and virulent and to be directed less against the missionaries proper and more against those of their descendants and others generally who were sympathetic with Christian ideals of betterment, especially if they were enterprising, thrifty, and well-to-do or stood for good government. The term "missionary" was retained by the detractors but with this modified and enlarged meaning.

The proneness of human nature, through malice, ignorance, recklessness, envy, prejudice, interest, or addiction to the sensational, to concoct or spread the false or to accept it as true, however easily refutable or inherently improbable, whether against missionaries or any other worthy group, here or elsewhere, may perhaps charitably be ascribed to the comparatively early stage of mental, moral and social evolution in which the world is still groping.

Owing to special circumstances, probably in no other field have missionaries received more cooperation from the natives or been subjected to more opposition from foreigners. I have elsewhere (*The Centennial Book, 1920*) called the first score of years after the arrival of the missionaries the crucial period in Hawaiian history because, "It was the period of acute contest for supremacy between the foreign forces of good and evil—the missionaries and their supporters on one side, the beachcombers, buccaneers and grog-shop keepers (not to mention higher-ups) on the other. 'Civilized man turned savage is more dangerous than the savage born, and their presence in heathen lands is a greater obstacle to Christianity than heathenism itself.'"<sup>1a</sup> The lot of the missionaries certainly entitled them to take comfort in the last beatitude: "Blessed are ye, when men shall reproach you, and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake.

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<sup>1a</sup>See also my *Development of Hawaiian Statute Law*, 13th An. Rep., Haw. Hist. Soc., at p. 20; also first paragraph of Appendix "F."

Rejoice, and be exceeding glad: for great is your reward in heaven: for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you." Their attitude, however, was well expressed by E. O. Hall, missionary printer, in his answer to a questionnaire of 116 questions submitted, soon after the organization of the ministry, by Mr. Wyllie, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to the missionaries and others in 1846 on Hawaiian conditions and needs of every sort and possible ways of meeting them. Mr. Hall, referring to those writers who belittled what had already been accomplished and who, therefore, as he said, "believe the senses of every man who has eyes," proceeded: "And while it is but too apparent that great defects (still) exist, we would most earnestly call upon and challenge such libellers to produce the history of any nation, horde or tribe, since the world has had an existence, where so great changes and improvements have been peacefully effected, as in this Hawaiian nation; our inquiry (now) is, what measures are best adapted to the future prosperity of the Hawaiian race?" He then made many practical suggestions.

"Grabbing the land" is the most common surviving charge among the *hoi polloi*, for it is definite and mundane, easy to make, seems to reach down to the present in its economic effects, and appeals to the sense of social discontent toward the well-to-do. Yet it is one of the most definitely refutable of all the charges, because the disproof, in its very nature, rests, not in the least on opinion, but wholly on indisputable, ascertainable facts. Credence in the charge rests on ignorance of the facts and natural propensity to accept it without examination. I do not propose to go into it here, because it has been covered as fully, precisely and interestingly as anyone could ask in the 12th chapter of Bishop Restarick's book *Hawaii 1778-1920, From the Viewpoint of a Bishop* (1924, revised 1925), and in the 4th chapter of Miss Jean F. Hobbs' book on land matters in Hawaii. The latter book, still in manuscript, represents some years of the most exhaustive research ever made of all records and literature on the subject, and, it is anticipated, will be published soon. I could not hope to improve on those chapters, and the best answer I can make to the charge is to refer the interested inquirer to them. I will merely add the most effective silencer that I have heard on this charge. A young woman, after listening for a while to an interchange of gossip on this subject by a group of homeward-bound tourists, suddenly interjected, "Is that so? My! I wish my missionary grandparents had got some of that land!"<sup>2</sup>

Such sweeping charges as that the missionaries were the cause of depopulation and loss of pristine happiness are based, however unwittingly, on the patently illogical assumption that such results, if and

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<sup>2</sup>See also pp. 33-35, *The Human Side of Hawaii*, A. W. Palmer, 1924, and pp. 70-76 of Prof. Alexander's reply to Bishop Staley (1865), to be referred to below (pp. 19-20).

in so far as they occurred, must have been due to the missionaries irrespective of the extent and character of non-missionary and anti-missionary influences.

The advent of the white man in the Pacific was inevitable, and especially in Hawaii, by reason of its size, resources, and, most important, its location at the crossroads of this vastest of oceans, rapidly coming into its own in fulfilment of prophecies that it was destined to become the chief theater of the world's future activities. During the forty-two years from Cook's discovery to the arrival of the first missionaries, and long afterwards, there came this way thousands of whites—beachcombers, Botany Bay convicts, fur-traders, whalers, and others, including black-birders in the South Seas,<sup>3</sup> who, with noteworthy exceptions, lived up to the then-prevailing motto that "there was no God this side of Cape Horn," or, when they rounded the Cape, "hung their consciences on the Horn," as it was said, and who, bent solely on their own profit and pleasure, brought muskets, alcohol, and infectious and contagious diseases, promoted licentiousness and exploited the natives, without a thought for their rights or welfare. In all reason, which group was accountable for depopulation—the group just mentioned or the group, comprising the missionaries and their cooperators, who strenuously combated infanticide, abortion, diseases, licentiousness and exploitation, and by instruction and example strove to fortify the natives, mentally, morally and industrially, to adjust themselves to the inescapable changing conditions? How long would the Hawaiians have lasted but for this timely intervention? Depopulation continued, it is true, after the missionaries came, but at a diminishing rate. And now, if the Hawaiians are to disappear as such, it will be by gradual fusion through intermarriage with other races, for Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians combined are decidedly on the upgrade, the Hawaiians decreasing slowly and the part-Hawaiians increasing rapidly.<sup>4</sup>

Until recently, it has been widely accepted that Pacific Islanders were at least holding their own before the arrival of Westerners, that the former in contact with the latter were inevitably doomed to extinction, that the causes were specific and physical, and that the same formula applied to all groups. Increasing knowledge, however, seems

<sup>3</sup>Black-birding is estimated to have reduced the population of the South Sea Islands by 75,000, and was practiced with cruelty rivaling that of the Atlantic slave trade.

<sup>4</sup>From the census of 1920 to that of 1930, the Hawaiians decreased from 23,723 to 22,636, or 4.5%, Caucasian-Hawaiians increased from 11,072 to 15,632, or 41.1%, and Asiatic-Hawaiians from 6,955 to 12,592, or 81%; all increased from 41,750 to 50,860, or 21.8%. If this rate of increase continues, and it seems to be accelerating, the total will about double in a period equal to that since annexation. Captain Cook (1778) estimated, probably excessively, the Hawaiians at 400,000; Vancouver, who had been with Cook, said (1792) that there had been an "apparent depopulation"; the missionaries estimated the population in 1823 at 142,000; the first census (1832) showed 130,313. The total was officially estimated at 378,948 as of June 30, 1934. Thus, if Cook's estimate was anywhere near right, the population is about the same now as it was then, but has changed from extreme homogeneity to extreme heterogeneity. After sagging to 56,897 in 1872, it has been built up by other races. (Later, as of June 30, 1935, the official estimate was: Total, 384,437; Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians, 57,688. The death rate for the total for the year was the lowest in the world.)

to show that most Pacific peoples were already on the toboggan before the whites came, that the latter merely greatly accentuated the decline, that the causes were largely psychological, that no uniform rule can be affirmed as to the various groups, and that there is no impossibility of effecting, through appropriate remedial measures, a mental and physical balance which will permit or insure survival or increase.

This subject is best covered by Dr. S. H. Roberts, of Melbourne University, in his book, *Population Problems of the Pacific* (1927), the most comprehensive work on the subject. Prof. Roberts states that of Polynesian peoples 12 (pop. 202,309) are increasing, 5 (pop. 104,963) have arrived at the stationary stage, and 2 (pop. 1,750) are decreasing; also that of Pacific peoples as a whole, 19 (pop. 384,388) are increasing, 7 (pop. 431,313) have arrived at the stationary stage, 5 (pop. 279,545) are decreasing, and 2 (pop. 1,750) are hopeless.<sup>5</sup>

It may be of interest to note in passing, not so much to prove anything as to disprove the contrary, that the most hopeless of all the Polynesian peoples is Melville's Marquesans, who, though claimed by many to have been the finest physically and mentally, and therefore to have had the best chance, have been least subject to missionary influences, and that among the most hopeful are those, such as the Samoans and Tongans, who have been most affected by missionary influences.

Melville was a believer in the myth of pristine happiness. In *Typee* he wrote: "Better it will be for them (the Marquesans) to remain the happy and innocent heathens and barbarians that they now are, than, like the wretched inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands, to enjoy the mere name of Christians without experiencing any of the vital operations of true religion, whilst at the same time they are made the victims of the worst vices and evils of civilized life." He did not prove to be a good prophet.<sup>6</sup>

The charge of loss of pristine happiness, besides being based, like the charge of depopulation, on the assumption that the alleged loss was due to the missionaries alone of all the foreigners who came this way, is based also on the assumption that there was such loss; in other words, on ignorance as to the prior conditions. We do not refer so much to war, infanticide and abortion, so prevalent still among so-called civilized peoples, and for which considerable might be said as applied to primitive peoples (or even to human sacrifices and cannibalism, the latter of which did not exist in Hawaii and for both of which something might be said), as to the poverty and oppression of the masses and the lack of justice and liberty under the tyranny and

<sup>5</sup>See also ch. 5, on Depopulation, *In the South Seas*, Robert Louis Stevenson, 1903, 1909 and 1918.

<sup>6</sup>Melville is treated at greater length on pp. 25-28.

rapacity of the chiefs and priests and the severities of the taboo system. The commoner could not call his soul his own, much less his mat or poi or day's work. He lived in constant fear not only of his superiors but of a multiplicity of malevolent gods instead of the solace of a benevolent deity. We need not dwell on this. Suffice it to say that Prof. Roberts, after going into the evidence at length, concludes that it should "fully dispel any lingering ideas about the noble savage living in a state of idyllic bliss." Miss Alexander, in her book referred to (p. 249), tells of a sea captain lamenting to Kamehameha III, with whom he sat drinking, "the good old carefree times before the coming of these missionaries," to which the king retorted, "You would have been dead three times; first, for not crawling into my presence face down; second, for standing on my shadow; third, for spitting before me."

To be logical, the anti-missionary critic should take the position that the Pacific should have been kept isolated as an unsophisticated human sanctuary, that traffic and travel should go the other way around, and perhaps that even now all whites, including himself, should depart. Perhaps, also, we should lament that our ancestors ever escaped from Eden's primal bliss.

A principal surviving charge is narrowness. On this how much might be said, pro and con, generally and particularly, but this paper must be brief. Perhaps we should turn the tables and say that those who charge narrow-mindedness to the missionaries are themselves too narrow-minded either to make due allowance for the times or to see more than one side of the picture. They portray the missionary mainly as an austere, long-faced Puritan ascetic, stalking about in a long black coat with a bible under his arm, concerned only with the wrath of God, the horrors of hell, and the future life, and regarding joyousness in this life as a sin; and then judge him by their own present views. Let it be conceded that religious and sociological thought has changed considerably in the last hundred years. History shows that it is about as natural and universal for each generation to indulge in a superiority complex over preceding generations as it is for each nation to indulge in a similar complex over other nations. It is hard either to recognize the merits of those who differ from us or to comprehend the significance of the evolutionary process, and the less we know of another people or generation the more critical of it we are.

What, after all, is religious and theological liberalism? Is it latitudinarianism as to personal faith and conduct, coupled with strictness as to formalism, church authority and observances, and salvation only through the intervention of duly appointed human agencies, or is it the reverse, or something between? It is true that the missionaries were pretty insistent on right personal living, and we may disagree with them as to what measure of strictness was wisest under the cir-

cumstances, but they at least, besides being among the best qualified for the purpose, had the advantage of knowing the conditions thoroughly at first hand, and the natives had been accustomed to far greater strictness and authority under the taboo system. Robert Louis Stevenson, we are told by Rev. W. E. Clark (*Yale Review*, Jan., 1921), head of the English Mission in Samoa, and Stevenson's most intimate friend in those islands, was at first "dispassionately critical," without, however, obtruding his criticisms into their conversations, but after he had become intimately acquainted with the natives and made a careful study of the religious and educational work there and in Micronesia, "his attitude changed entirely. . . . We discussed a number of criticisms he had made, some of them of value, but a far larger number, as is often the case with missionary critics, the result of too hasty generalization and imperfect knowledge of the native mode of thought and native superstition. He realized that many of the shortcomings in missionary methods, which he justly criticised, were equally obvious to us, and were due to our own limitations in working with a native pastorate, imperfectly educated, and suddenly confronted with a civilization of which they knew next to nothing; and from this time his critical attitude changed to warm advocacy." He even took a Sunday School class.

Luther, Calvin and Knox broke away from formalism and indulgences for justification by faith, personal relationship with God and liberty of conscience; the next century our Pilgrim and Puritan forebears, in whom we take such pride, took another jump for religious freedom and independence, this time across the Atlantic; then after exactly two centuries (1620-1820) of further liberalizing, in which Jonathan Edwards was passed, the missionary pilgrims came pioneering five times as far around the Horn, to become themselves, with new experiences and new problems, even broader and more tolerant than the church people they left behind and the Board that sent them out.

Assuming that we have achieved further advance during the century since elapsed, yet what missiles of criticism will be hurled a century hence at our narrow and muddled not only religious and theological, but also political, economic and social concepts? By all means, let there be research and exposition for our edification, but let none deceive himself that he has reached the peak of wisdom or mistake disdain or derision for true criticism. Aside from the irrationality of judging the missionaries as of today, is it any fairer to require them to project themselves a century forward than to require ourselves to do likewise? And, if a hundred years, why not a thousand?

But were the missionaries so narrow? They were or soon became, among the broadest Christians of their time, and what more could be expected of them religiously? It mattered not to them that they

were of different denominations among themselves; and they extended hospitality to others of whatever creed or race. As one of them declared: "I allow my friends to differ from me in views and sentiment. Let us still be friends."<sup>7</sup> They were educated and cultured, of good stock, and yielded a numerous progeny that, under their heritage and nurture, made splendid, and in some cases distinguished, records here and elsewhere. They had wide personal interests; they were fond of literature and science; they had their book and magazine clubs; they were historians and archeologists and sociologists; they kept meteorological records; they geologized and botanized and conchologized; they gave the Hawaiians a literature, and preserved from oblivion much of their ancient history and folk lore; they delighted in the grandeur and beauties of nature, loved music and flowers, took difficult mountain hikes and hazardous canoe voyages; joyousness was almost a duty with them; they liked games and anecdotes, jokes and puns.

Though in many cases married to hastily found mates shortly before sailing, they lived marital lives that were exemplary in their fill of love and devotion; their families—parents and children—were models for affection and mutual helpfulness; with mere pittance of salaries or rations, often unable to obtain suitable food, living at first for years in cramped, leaky, floorless thatched houses, with little privacy, often ill or child-bearing with no doctor available, and no end of calls for self-sacrificing services, they were marvels of patience and faithfulness.

They had to be all-round mechanics and farmers, building houses and churches of stone, adobe or wood and thatch, making furniture, and raising fruits, vegetables, flowers, and dairy and poultry products, not to mention surveying, doctoring, and peace-making; in their ministering they had the courage of their convictions, not hesitating to discipline chiefs—especially when the latter oppressed the common people, for they were very democratic champions of the rights of man.

Realizing that religion alone was not sufficient, they introduced the school and the press, as well as the church, established manual training schools, the first of their kind, taught new industries, mechanical and agricultural, incessantly inculcated the rights of the common people—with the result that in approximately a quarter of a century this handful of zealous, intelligent, practical workers, with their sympathizers, largely Christianized the nation and made it one of the least illiterate, transformed the government from absolutism to constitutionalism, secured to the masses personal and property rights and enabled them to acquire homes of their own, preserved the independence of the nation against great odds, and, what perhaps may

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<sup>7</sup>*Lowell and Abigail*, p. 260.

prove to be the crowning feature, planted the seeds which have fruited in the world's best object lesson of interracial brotherliness.<sup>8</sup>

The foregoing is a sort of composite picture, but of course, the missionaries varied greatly like the members of any other group of people, and, although very godly-minded, were also quite human. Mother Thurston, last survivor of the first company, said the day before she died (1876) that she had "a great deal of human nature."<sup>8a</sup> Her athletic husband, Yale 1816, had the high honor of election as "College Bully" to champion the students in the conflicts of that day between town and gown. When he landed at Kailua, a big negro down the coast, fearing that the missionary influence would not be helpful to his nefarious business, gave out that when he met Mr. Thurston he would do him up. Mr. Thurston, hearing of this and learning one day that the negro was on his way to Kailua along a path between two high stone walls, took pains to meet him and told him that now was his chance. The negro made for him, whereupon Mr. Thurston picked him up and tossed him over one of the walls, thereby securing his respect ever after. This story may be apocryphal, but, if so, there are other authentic stories, not so dramatic, in which Mr. Thurston's prowess came handy. While the missionaries were not all Thurstons, they were no namby-pamby lot—as numerous citations might be adduced to show. Bishop Restarick (*History*, p. 50) quotes Jarves, "man of the world," nephew of a missionary, here five years for his health, as saying, "My aunt could work, scold, preach, wash, bake, pray, catechize, make dresses, plant, pluck, drive stray pigs out of the garden. There was nothing useful in this wilderness which she could not do."<sup>8b</sup>

If there is truth in the saying, "By their fruits ye shall know them. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles," or in the saying, "The proof of the pudding is the eating," who is there that may not well take off his hat to them? The historian Hume, although he hated the Puritans, was willing to give credit where credit was due when he declared that "the precious spark of liberty had been kindled by the Puritans" and "to them the English owe the whole freedom of their Constitution." This was cited by Prof. Alexander in his reply to

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<sup>8</sup>The missionaries were by no means all clergymen; there were doctors, teachers, printers, mechanics, farmers, business men, etc. Their instructions from the Board were broad, e. g.: "Your views are not to be limited to a low narrow scale; but you are to open your hearts wide and set your mark high. You are to aim at nothing short of covering these islands with fruitful fields, and pleasant dwellings and schools and churches, and of raising up the whole people to an elevated state of Christian civilization. You are to obtain an adequate knowledge of the language of the people; to make them acquainted with letters; to give them the Bible with skill to read it; to turn them from their barbarous courses and habits; to introduce, and get into extended operation and influence among them, the arts and institutions and usages of civilized life and society"; and "you are to abstain from all interference with local and political interests of the people," and to "inculcate the duties of justice, moderation, forbearance, truth and universal kindness. Do all in your power to make men of every class good, wise and happy." Compilation (1838) of *Rules and Regulations of the Board and Instructions to Missionaries to Hawaii*, pp. 14, 41-2.

<sup>8a</sup>For a thrilling story of a heroic life, see *Life of Lucy G. Thurston* (1882, 1921 and 1934).

<sup>8b</sup>See Appendix F.



Bishop Staley's criticisms of the missionaries. He said also, referring to criticisms for imperfections that still existed: "It is a well-known trick to charge the remains of this state of things to those very influences which have produced so great a change for the better." Aside from the test by results, and granting that the missionaries harbored much Puritanic orthodoxy that we have since discarded, it does not follow that they allowed this to overshadow evangelism in their actual operations. Here, as with the problem of licentiousness, considered below, they were more human and practical than might theoretically be expected. On this I quote in Appendix A a passage in Mr. Ellis' reply, referred to below, to Bishop Staley's criticisms. There was probably no better authority. Bishop Restarick (*History*, p. 90) quotes Jarves as saying, "The missionary was a far more agreeable man than his catechism, and the trader not as bad a man as the missionary would make him out to be"; also S. C. Armstrong as saying, "Their preaching became generally direct and practical, ethical rather than theological." He also (p. 51) quotes Jarves as saying, "The theology taught, though based on fear, had been modified by love of the Divine Being. To hear them preach you would suppose all mankind damnable scoundrels; to see them act, you felt sure that they did not at heart feel that the human race was so unmitigatedly bad after all."<sup>8c</sup> How characteristic of the small-minded to harp on minor matters, without understanding even them, and to overlook the grand or the *tout ensemble*, implying how much better they could have done the job—if only they had had the chance—even to the creation of this old world of ours, which the creator bungled so badly! How many real "salt of the earth" still reaffirm each Sunday their belief in every clause of the Apostles' Creed, and how many good and useful people still believe that the earth is flat, that the sun revolves around it, and that man was created by fiat just 4004 years B.C.!

It is here that the recent volumes by the missionary granddaughters are wondrously illuminating. In them the all-round lives and work of the missionaries speak for themselves. It is here also that *The Lord's Anointed* falls short in that it presents too exclusively the austere side, that it does not make due allowance for either the times or the results, and that it continues the first picture to the end of the century long after all the missionaries had ceased their labors and no semblance of the former situation remained.

The matters, other than the theological and ecclesiastical, in respect of which the missionaries have been accused of illiberality, include such things as clothes, sports, liquor, tobacco, gambling, dancing, and licentiousness. A few will be touched upon—by way of illustration.

Tobacco-smoking, now regarded as such an innocent pastime even by clergymen, exemplifies the problems under the then-existing situation. The natives were quick to imitate the white man, whether as to

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<sup>8c</sup>See Appendix F.

clothes, liquor, tobacco, cards, or other things. Liquor seemed in a fair way to destroy the nation until curtailment of its use, first by Kamehameha I, and then, more importantly, under the missionary teachings. When the natives learned that the "fire-breathing" men of Captain Cook's vessels were merely smoking, the indulgence spread like wildfire, and soon practically every home "from Hawaii to Niihau" had its tobacco patch. Smoking not only was excessive but was mostly with short pipes, which were passed from mouth to mouth until very hot, and the smoke was inhaled into the lungs, held there for a while, and finally exhaled through the mouth and nostrils. The effect seemed highly deleterious and demoralizing to the natives, whatever it was to others—to say nothing of other dire results, such as setting thatched houses on fire at night. Not unnaturally, the missionaries advised and published tracts against this—not that smoking was sinful, in itself, but that as pursued it was injurious. In one tract (1839) the author said that he was "sorry to add that two or three missionaries at the islands roll the dirty weed under their tongues, and thus weaken the hands of their brethren and set a bad example to the people." One missionary recorded in his journal (July, 1836): "Today I have inquired of every scholar whether he or she smokes tobacco. Some thirty-two girls and twenty-five boys replied that they do smoke. The girls made no attempt to justify themselves, but the boys attempted to advocate the use of it. The great argument with them all was that it warmed the mouth and the *opu* (stomach) after eating. A real knock-down argument here in this torrid zone."<sup>9</sup> On one occasion (1839) a number of chiefs addressed the General Meeting, complaining that some of the churches were too strict in regard to tobacco and some other things, and asking their opinion. The missionaries, although they took what might seem to us rather extreme views on these matters, stated also in effect that they were divided among themselves as to how far some of them were right or wrong in themselves, and that in small matters the scriptures were not clear, and they advised against them—in most cases on the ground that they were harmful or demoralizing, and especially wrongful if one adjured them and then went back on his word. In one district in 1830 there was a tobacco "reformation," in which pipes by the barrellful were brought in for destruction. Later, owing to changing conditions, tobacco gradually lost its significance as presenting a moral question, and its raising came to be encouraged as one of many minor industries.

Clothes have been a much-debated matter, from the viewpoints of both health and picturesqueness, with much said on each side—and perhaps even more that might be said on the view that it is not so much a question of clothes or no clothes as what clothes and how to use them. At any rate the missionaries have been blamed much for being

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<sup>9</sup>*Lowell and Abigail*, p. 107.

shocked at nudity and encouraging the use of clothes. Of course, they could no more stem the native desire if they wanted to than King Knute could stem the tide. But two things they did do: They tried to teach the natives the healthful use of clothes; and when the queens, accustomed to wind themselves with yards and yards of the native kapa or imported silk, asked the missionary wives to make dresses for them, these wives introduced the simple, dignified, loose-fitting holoku (modified empire gown), which has ever since held its own, against all other fashions, as the distinctive, typical Hawaiian woman's dress—in marked contrast with the fashion of that day in civilized (?) countries "that demanded the bodice be laced across a stomacher, i. e., a narrow board beneath the gown and over the vitals, the drawing of the cords to accomplish the desired slimness being accentuated by means of the bedpost as a stanchion"<sup>10</sup>—which caused or hastened the deaths of so many innocent young women. In a sense the missionaries anticipated present-day freedom and simplicity as compared with Victorian prudery and unhygienic grotesqueness.

Another charge is that the missionaries destroyed the manly ancient sports, such as sliding down specially prepared courses, discus throwing, dart glancing, bowls, boxing, wrestling, etc., except surfing and the hula, which have survived. Aside, however, from inherent improbability from what we know of the missionaries, the best authorities, W. D. Alexander, in his pamphlet reply (1865) to Bishop Staley, and N. B. Emerson, in an address devoted wholly to this subject and published in *The Friend* (Aug., 1892), have shown not only that there is an absence of proof that the missionaries attempted to suppress these sports, but that the sports were destined to disappear in any event, and had already largely disappeared before the missionaries came—the reasons being that the great makahiki or New Year's festival, the tabu system and idolatry, with which the sports were closely bound, had largely ceased; that new interests had been substituted—horses and the white man's conveniences, luxuries, and vices generally; that activities were largely absorbed, first, in war, in which incidentally the musket largely displaced the spear and sling, and then in supplying sandalwood, etc., to the whites, shipping as sailors, and engaging in other occupations; to which, after the arrival of the missionaries, should be added the *palapala* (reading and writing) and other missionary importations in which the natives evinced so keen an interest. Doubtless, also, the restrictions, under missionary influences, on gambling and licentiousness, the principal attractions of these sports, contributed indirectly.

Lack of time prevents going into the large question of prostitution and other forms of licentiousness, towards which not alone those who would profit thereby but also men of high ideals, including divines of

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<sup>10</sup>Lowell and Abigail, p. 8.

other faiths, have charged that the missionaries should have been more lenient. The missionaries felt, in view of the native mode of thought and the aggressiveness of the vicious foreign element, that they could not compromise with the sin, however considerate they might be of the sinner, and the Lord knows they were the latter. Richard H. Dana, a much-traveled man, to be referred to again presently, wrote of conditions in 1859: "In no place in the world that I have visited, are the rules which control vice and regulate amusements so strict, yet so reasonably and fairly enforced." And R. C. Wyllie, also to be referred to again presently, wrote in 1844: "There are few towns of the same extent where a deep religious feeling more prevails, and certainly none where more decency and order are observed on the Sabbath. Yet all this exists without any of that gloom and ascetic severity which existed in the early days of Presbyterianism in Scotland and of Puritanism in England and Connecticut." And many a touching tale might be told of the missionaries' mindfulness of the frailties of their flocks.<sup>11</sup>

The laws published in 1842, commonly known as the *Blue Book*, have often been adduced as damning the missionaries, on the assumption that they were the work of the missionaries and were patterned after the alleged "Blue Laws" of Connecticut. This little volume was a compilation of the Constitution of 1840 and the laws, civil and criminal, in force at the time of its publication, and was called the "Blue Book," not because of the character of the laws, but merely because of the color of its cover! The contents were the work of the natives, not of the missionaries, but, of course in large part, the indirect results of the missionary teachings. Some of them, as stated in the preface, were first proposed by non-missionary foreign residents, visitors, consuls, and captains of war vessels. So far from being damnable, these laws, although somewhat crude, are in reality most eloquent testimonials to the labors of the missionaries. To think that in two decades a barbarous people could be so transformed as to produce such a constitution and such laws, whether as to their frame or their substance! Chancellor Kent, in his *Commentaries on American Law* (Vol. 2, p. 198, note), says, with reference to the first decade alone, perhaps too favorably, that "The rapid transformation of the natives of those islands from being savages and heathens in 1820, to, in 1830, a civilized and Christian people, is very remarkable, and reflects honor, not only on the mild and teachable disposition of the natives, but also on the diligence, discretion, fidelity, and zeal with which the missionaries have devoted themselves to fulfill the purposes of their trust."

In 1902, a group of the mainlanders who flocked here after annexation, seeking to discredit the alleged missionary territorial government, soon after its formation, succeeded in getting a U. S. Senate com-

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<sup>11</sup>See pp. 272-273, *Lowell and Abigail*.

mittee, in part of the desired personnel, appointed to investigate conditions here. Only three members of the Committee visited Hawaii and, of these, two seemed to be pretty much in sympathy with the movants. However, the Committee could not avoid being rather harmless in its report—which, it might be added, was given scant attention by Congress. But it included in its 2,000 or so pages, all the exhibits filed, including the entire “Blue Book,” which was filed by the ringleader of the movants as “A practical illustration of the missionaries’ love for the Hawaiians.”<sup>12</sup>

Akin to the charge of narrowness is that of intolerance—particularly towards the Roman and the Reformed (Anglican high episcopal) Catholic Churches; although, on the facts, this resolves itself into a case of criticism of the missionaries, that is, the Independents, by those Churches from their own spirit of intolerance. It, of course, is not to be disputed that at first no love was lost by any of the three groups for either of the others. Nor is it material for present purposes that Independent Protestants everywhere at that time felt strongly against both the Churches mentioned, and that those Churches felt even more strongly against the Independents and had indulged in frightful persecutions elsewhere.

As to the Roman Catholics, it is unnecessary to go into the long story from the first arrival of their clergy in 1827 to their firm establishment in 1839. The principal charges were that the missionaries instigated the king and chiefs to send them away in 1831 and 1837, and to inflict punishment, called persecution, on some of their adherents.

Perhaps it was only natural for the Catholics, though unable to adduce proof, thus to suspect the missionaries, considering the latter’s supposed influence with the king and chiefs and their unsympathetic attitude towards the Catholics. On the other hand, the missionaries persistently denied the charges, and their resolutions supported their denials. There are also the writings of a number of them disapproving the so-called persecutions, and indisputable evidence that they repeatedly protested against them to the king and chiefs and that they were largely instrumental in bringing about the Edict of Toleration of June 17, 1839.<sup>13</sup>

In 1830, the General Meeting resolved, among other things, that while “we consider them (the Catholics) dangerous” and recognize the right of the civil government to send them away, as it said it intended to do, “we recognize in its fullest extent the grand truth that every man for his religious opinions and practices, when not leading

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<sup>12</sup>Shortly afterwards, the two members referred to were indicted for alleged previous offenses; one was convicted and sent to Leavenworth; the other, apparently overcome by the shock, died before his case was disposed of.

<sup>13</sup>This edict, although often referred to as if it were a formal document like the Declaration of Rights issued ten days earlier, was only an oral order.

to open immorality, is accountable only to God and his own conscience, and therefore all coercive measures of the civil authority to control opinions and practices, except as above mentioned, are improper and injurious," and that, so long as they were here, the civil authority could not properly "prohibit their preaching and proselyting." The missionaries were firm believers in religious liberty and the separation of church and state. And at the end of the trouble, 1839, the American consul, in view, as he said, of the opinion that seemed "to be to some extent entertained," addressed the king, inquiring, among other things, "whether they (the missionaries) have ever had anything to do in the measures adopted by your government for the prevention of the introduction of the Catholic religion into the country, . . . and also, whether, in the attempts made under your authority to suppress the public exercise of the Roman Catholic religion on the part of your subjects, they have countenanced those attempts," and, if so, "please inform me, very explicitly, in what manner and to what extent." The king replied explicitly at some length, not only answering the questions emphatically in the negative, but giving instances in which the missionaries had urged against persecutions and saying that captains of whaleships and war vessels had represented that the Catholics were dangerous or had approved what was done. The reasons given by the king and chiefs from time to time were, that the Catholics had never, as the missionaries always had, obtained permission to land and carry on their work, that they, the king and chiefs, considered the Catholic religion idolatrous and hence contrary to the law which had abolished idolatry the year before the first missionaries came, and that they considered that to have two religions in Hawaii would be divisive and cause trouble. Always before there had been only one religion—first the ancient Hawaiian, and then the Christianity of the missionaries. Doubtless, the teachings, as distinguished from the actions and advice, of the missionaries, also had their effect, however unintended, but that could not be helped.<sup>14</sup>

Father Reginald Yzendoorn, in his valuable *History of the Catholic Mission in Hawaii* (1927), presents much not readily found elsewhere on this subject, mainly, of course, from the Catholic viewpoint, but we note his fairness in including such statements as this: "The Protestant clergymen had expected a call from the newcomers. Before the latter's arrival they had repeatedly stated that they would be pleased to receive them, saying that there was work enough for all." However, when the Catholic fathers arrived (1827), friendly over-

<sup>14</sup>See, on the missionary side, pamphlet by S. N. Castle, 1839, published also in the *Hawaiian Spectator* of October, 1839; pamphlet by J. Tracy, Boston, 1841 and 1843; Reports of the American Board, 1840 and 1841; ch. 11 of S. Dibble's History, 1843, 1909; chs. 10 and 11 of J. J. Jarves' History, 1843, 1844, 1847, 1872 and 1909; ch. 21 of R. Anderson's History, Boston, 1864; on the Catholic side, Supplement to the *Sandwich Island Mirror*, 1840, anonymous, supposed to be by J. C. Jones, American consul; generally, M. Perrin's Historical Memorandum, with Mr. Wyllie's notes thereto, pp. 230 et seq., and Mr. Wyllie's Historical Summary, pp. 271 et seq., of Appendix to Report of Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1850; Father Yzendoorn's History, 1927; ch. 13 of Kuykendall's History, 1928; *United States Exploring Expedition*, 1845, Vol. 4, pp. 10-19.

tures by the missionaries were rejected. Father Yzendoorn further says, after referring to discussions between missionaries and priests which, though "not without acrimony . . . served to allay much prejudice," at the end (say, about 1840) of the troublous period: "Soon we see priests and ministers visiting each other and even dining together." And in 1859, Luther Halsey Gulick, son of a missionary and himself a missionary, planted a coconut tree on the grave, on Ponape Island, Micronesia, of Father Batchelot, the central figure of the troublous period, who had died at sea on his way thither, when sent from Hawaii the second time (1837). Mr. Gulick said (*The Friend*, Feb., 1860) that, "Though differing widely from him in religious faith, and condemning much in his missionary life, I respect his zeal and most especially desire to honor his devotion to the enterprise of spreading Christianity." And the missionary editor of *The Friend* added: "May the simple natives as in coming years they pluck the fruit from this tree, planted by a devoted Protestant missionary over the grave of an equally devoted Catholic, have learned to love the common Savior of all. Creeds are of the earth, earthly, but Gospel truth is from above."<sup>15</sup>

Among other friendly relationships that might be mentioned, we read in Miss Alexander's book (p. 499) that her missionary grandfather and the Catholic priest at Wailuku were warm friends, enjoyed playing chess together, and sometimes rode in the same buggy. Bishop Staley indeed complained (1865) that the missionaries were apparently partial to the Roman Catholics in the controversies of the latter with the English Mission.<sup>16</sup>

This brings us to the Reformed Catholic Church, the advent of which gave rise to a real battle royal, with no less than a Bishop as the assailant and our revered and scholarly Prof. W. D. Alexander, missionary son, for the defense, and in which pretty nearly the whole gamut of anti-missionary criticisms was involved.

Manly Hopkins, Hawaiian Charge d'Affaires and Consul-General in London, had chiefly maneuvered the sending out of a Bishop of the extremely high section of the Anglican church, instead of an evangelical clergyman as had been requested in order to insure cooperation with the missionaries. Although he had never been in these islands, he published a book on *Hawaii: The Past, Present, and Future of its Island Kingdom* in 1862, revised and republished in 1866, the object of which was to show the need of such a mission in Hawaii. While perforce giving the missionaries some credit, he belittled their work.

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<sup>15</sup>In 1905 a hurricane swept away this coconut tree and the mortuary chapel. Father Batchelot, it will be recalled, was the one who introduced that God-send, the algaroba tree, into Hawaii in 1828, having brought the seed from the King's Garden at Paris the year before. Father Yzendoorn's History, p. 120. See also 18th An. Rep. Haw. Hist. Soc., pp. 29-34.

<sup>16</sup>On this, see pp. 18-20 of Prof. Alexander's reply to Bishop Staley; also second paragraph of Appendix E.

The Bishop, T. N. Staley, who, with his staff, arrived in 1862, proved quite as non-cooperative and exclusive as the Roman Catholics had been a quarter of a century before. In 1865 he delivered a New Year's Pastoral address in which he, too, while giving some credit to the missionaries, belittled their work.<sup>17</sup> Neither Mr. Hopkins nor the Bishop seemed overcareful about the sources of their information. The Bishop's recklessness and credulity rendered him particularly vulnerable.

Several missionaries answered on particular points which concerned themselves or with which they were especially familiar, but the reply to the address as a whole was a lengthy pamphlet<sup>18</sup> by Prof. Alexander, who, to put it mildly, proved more than a match for the Bishop, whether as to secular or ecclesiastical history, local or general, or in forceful argumentation. Lack of space prevents going into the details, but if one, irrespective of his sympathies, would have the fascination of perusing a lustrous polemic, he could hardly do better than read Prof. Alexander's pamphlet. This pamphlet and the Bishop's together give a pretty complete inventory of all the anti-missionary criticisms up to that time.

The underlying current of both Mr. Hopkin's book and the Bishop's pamphlet seemed to be that the forty years of missionary labors had been ample for the missionaries to demonstrate what they could do, but that they had made something of a mess of things, that the Reformed Catholic Church could do the job much better, and that fortunately it had now arrived to rescue the situation.

What an unfortunate attitude, especially in the light of subsequent events—the slow growth of that Church, the bitter feelings it aroused, and its failure at harmony even among its own ranks, during the equal period of forty years that elapsed until that Church was changed to the American Protestant Episcopal Church in 1902, after annexation—roughly a decade under Bishop Staley (including an interregnum of two years or so) and three decades under his successor, Bishop Willis! And what a marked contrast with the gratifying growth of that Church, unity among its members and cooperativeness with others in the great mission of all, under the three American Bishops during the third of a century since! Bishop Willis was scholarly and a personally estimable gentleman. I do not know about Bishop Staley

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<sup>17</sup>The Pastoral was intended partly as a reply to a report of the American Board, but before its publication, which was in pamphlet form, he received a copy of the book *The Hawaiian Islands: Their Progress and Condition under Missionary Labors* (1864) issued shortly before by Dr. Rufus Anderson, Foreign Secretary of the Board, after visiting the islands. This led the Bishop to add appendices of greater length, in which he indulged in almost unrestrained criticisms of the missionaries along many lines.

<sup>18</sup>A Review of a Pastoral Address by the Right Rev. T. N. Staley, D.D., Reformed Catholic Bishop of Honolulu, by W. D. Alexander, 1865. It was first printed in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, a weekly, in the issues from April 22 to July 1, 1865, except that of June 10, which contained other matter on the subject.



in these respects.<sup>18a</sup> He seems to have earned a reputation for tactlessness. Both ecclesiastically, were aloof, non-cooperative, excessively concerned with their prerogatives, and obsessed with the idea of divine appointment. The first American Bishop and longest in office, Henry B. Restarick, long President of the Hawaiian Historical Society and one of the front-rank students and writers of Hawaiian history and therefore unusually well qualified to judge, was an ardent admirer of the missionaries and their work, notwithstanding his frank criticisms of them in some particulars.

By way of general comment on the Bishop's pamphlet, perhaps I cannot do better than quote from the beginning and end of Prof. Alexander's lengthy reply. He begins: "In view of the high and responsible position which its author occupies in a Christian Church, one might well be surprised at the bitter and partisan character of the document. The self-complacent and uncharitable manner in which he speaks of other denominations of Christians, the too-evident eagerness with which he catches at any statement to the discredit of the American Protestant Mission, and the sneers and innuendoes in which he indulges, but ill accord with the great *law of charity* to which he so often appeals." He ends: "A simple regard for justice required that such a mass of misrepresentation, prepared for a foreign market,<sup>19</sup> should not be allowed to go forth unchallenged, especially when bearing the name and prestige of an English Bishop. In conclusion, let me express the hope that, as Bishop Staley in his last Pastoral has brought together about all the evil which has ever been said against the American Mission, in his next he may present the other side of the picture, and collect all the good that can justly be said of them."

The following quotation from Bishop Restarick's book is indicative

<sup>18a</sup>But see first paragraph of Appendix E.

<sup>19</sup>The English market, of course. Both Mr. Hopkins and Bishop Staley, as well as the Bishop of Oxford, who sponsored Bishop Staley, seemed to feel the need of justifying the sending of a high church mission and invading a field already occupied, to which there had been objection, instead of an evangelic clergyman, who would have been welcomed by all to minister to Episcopalians in Honolulu. The Bishop of Oxford repeated many of Bishop Staley's "libels" in addresses in England, and Bishop Staley did the same on a visit to the United States. All this stirred up controversies in the press. See, particularly, pamphlet, London and Honolulu, 1866, by Wm. Ellis, Englishman, author of *Polynesian Researches*; article by J. Tracy, American, in *The American Presbyterian and Theological Review* of October, 1866, and Reports of the American Board, 1864, 1865 and 1866; also ch. 20 of R. Anderson's History, written before the Bishop's Pastoral, and article by J. Tracy, replying to Mr. Hopkin's History, in the April, 1865, number of said magazine. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of London, Rochester and China, manifested a different attitude from that of the Bishop of Oxford. The *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, in its issues of July 15, Nov. 11 and 25, and Dec. 23 and 30, 1865, and Jan. 27, Mar. 3, and Apr. 7 and 21, 1866, contained editorials, letters, and quotations and reprints from American and English papers, some by Episcopalians, criticising Bishop Staley, the Bishop of Oxford and Mr. Hopkins, and a few weak replies by the bishops. Among the papers thus drawn from were: *New York Evening Post*, Nov. 8, 9, 10 and 23, and Dec. —, 1865, and Jan. 4, 1866; *New York Round Table*, Nov. 25, 1865; *New York Times*; *Boston Daily Advertiser*; *Baltimore Commercial*; *London Times*; *London Record*; *London Daily News*; *London Freeman*, Nov. 1, 1865; *London Saturday Review*; *Manchester Examiner and Times*; *Montreal Witness*. Bishop Staley also published now and then in London for foreign consumption an "Occasional Paper of the Hawaiian Church Mission." One of these was criticised in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* of April 21, 1866. In 1868, Bishop Staley published a small book, *Five Years' Church Work in the Kingdom of Hawaii*, purporting to be mostly factual and but little critical. This and the third edition (1872) of Dr. Anderson's History were reviewed at length by Dr. Leonard Bacon in *The New Englander*, July, 1872.

of the feelings aroused by Bishop Staley: "Mark Twain, writing for a California paper in 1866, describes the feeling existing in a letter, which, for bitter invective surpasses that of Robert Louis Stevenson in his famous letter about Dr. Hyde. Much of it is too vitriolic to quote, but he sums up the whole matter as follows: 'He (Bishop Staley) has shown the temerity of an incautious and inexperienced judgment, rushing in here fresh from the heart and home of a high civilization and throwing down the gauntlet of defiance before a band of stern, tenacious, unyielding, tireless, industrious, devoted old Puritan knights who had seen forty years of missionary service.'"<sup>19a</sup> See Chapters 8 and 13 on Bishop Staley in Bishop Restarick's book. Chapter 8 concludes as follows, contrary to Bishop Staley's assertions: "The impartial historian must say that, all things considered, it is remarkable what the missionaries had accomplished in the forty years before Bishop Staley came. They had reduced the language to a written form, translated the Bible and other books, led the way to universal education, originated industrial schools, which became later a world-wide feature of all missionary effort among primitive people. They were the friends of the people and had set the example of Christian family life. If we recognize these things we shall better understand the state of affairs in 1865 in reviewing moral conditions from the time of Captain Cook."

Perhaps, before leaving Mark Twain, we should quote from him further, as quoted in Miss Alexander's book (p. 448), on the results of missionary labors, which Bishop Staley had so disparaged: "The missionaries have clothed them, educated them, broken up tyrannous authority of their chiefs, given them freedom and the right to enjoy whatever their hands and brains produce, with equal laws for all, and punishment for all alike who transgress them. The contrast is so strong—the benefit conferred upon this people by the missionaries is so prominent, so palpable, and so unquestionable, that the frankest compliment I can pay them, and the best, is simply to point to the condition of the Sandwich Islanders of Captain Cook's time, and their condition today. Their work speaks for itself."<sup>20</sup>

As bearing on the progress that had been made, it will be recalled that it was at about this time that the American Board graduated Hawaii from the field of missions on the conviction that it had become so completely Christianized and civilized that its churches could safely be put entirely on their own—a premature decision, as many of the missionaries thought at the time and the sequel proved.

At this point, let me introduce two witnesses whose testimony is entitled to predominant weight—in connection with the criticisms not

<sup>19a</sup>The entire paragraph from which Bishop Restarick took this quotation (with slight variations from the original) is the first paragraph of Appendix E.

<sup>20</sup>Incidentally, Miss Alexander, after mentioning that Mark Twain was then (1866) at Wailuku working on *Roughing It*, says that "he and Mr. Alexander had jolly times together." How is that for one of those austere missionaries?

only of Mr. Hopkins and Bishop Staley, but anti-missionary criticisms generally. Richard Henry Dana, already referred to, was not merely a literary critic, lecturer on Shakespeare and author of *Two Years Before the Mast*, included in the *Harvard Classics*, *The Five-Foot Shelf of Books* and pronounced by one of the best English sea-story writers (W. Clark Russell) "the greatest sea-book ever written in any language." He was an eminent lawyer, authority and writer on maritime and international law, widely traveled and experienced, and a practised investigator. Moreover, he was absolutely disinterested and an Episcopalian as well. Having visited these islands during his two years before the mast in the middle thirties, he revisited them in the latter part of 1859, that is, practically in the period of Hopkins and Staley, and wrote the results of his observations to the New York Tribune. He went into particulars as to the missionaries and their opponents and the conditions as he found them, at such length and so richly that, as in the case of Prof. Alexander's pamphlet, even condensation here is impossible. The net result was one of the finest and most dispassionate encomiums on the missionaries and their work.<sup>21</sup>

I quote here only two of his more general statements, not on what the missionaries had accomplished, but first on what they were and then on what others thought of them: "In the course of the two months I have spent upon these Islands, it has been my good fortune to be the guest of many of the mission families, and to become more or less acquainted with nearly all of them. And, besides fidelity in the discharge of their duties to the natives, I can truly say that in point of kindness and hospitality to strangers, of intelligence and general information, of solicitude and painstaking for the liberal education of their children, and of zeal for the acquirement of information of every sort, it would be difficult to find their superiors among the most favored families at home;" also, "Among traders, ship masters, and travellers who have visited these Islands, some have made disparaging remarks respecting the missionaries, and a good deal of imperfect information is carried home by persons who have visited only the half-Europeanized ports, where the worst view of the condition of the natives is presented. I visited among all classes—the foreign merchants, traders, and ship masters, foreign and native officials, and with the natives, from the king and several of the chiefs to the humblest poor, whom I saw without constraint in a tour I made over Hawaii, throwing myself upon their hospitality in their huts. I sought information from all, foreign and native, friendly and unfriendly; and the conclusion to which I came is that the best men, and those who are best acquainted with the history of things here, hold in high esteem the labors and conduct of the missionaries."

A Hilo man wrote in 1902 (Paper No. 11, Hawaiian Historical Society): "Mr. Dana was always looking for information as to the

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<sup>21</sup>Much of this is quoted in Appendix C.

resources of the Islands, and the true character of the Hawaiians, and what influences were being used to elevate the people, and also what were being used to degrade them. I thought that he was a very keen observer, and one that wanted to know both sides, before he made up his own mind about things."

Mr. Dana, it is true, made one criticism. In commending the character and work of the Catholics, he expressed the view that the missionaries might wisely have made their churches and services less severe by introducing some of the Catholic and Episcopal attractiveness. In this, many Independents, including some of the missionaries themselves, have concurred, but Mr. Hopkins and Bishop Staley seized upon it almost as if it outweighed all else that Mr. Dana said.<sup>22</sup>

The other outstanding witness is Robert Crichton Wyllie. Scotch by birth, a medical man by education, world traveler, of independent fortune made in the Latin Americas, sometime resident of London and the United States, he came to Hawaii early in 1844 as secretary of the new British consul-general, whose predecessor, Richard Charlton, had been the anti-missionary leader for nearly a score of years. The next year he was persuaded to accept the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in which he served with unique distinction until his death twenty years later. He was noted for his sagacity and was an indefatigable investigator and writer. The year of his arrival he visited the principal islands with the British consul, delved into sources of information in Honolulu, and wrote extended notes which appeared in twelve numbers of *The Friend*. This was when he had no thought of remaining here more than a short time. He not only was absolutely independent, but was a Britisher and an Episcopalian as well, and indeed was later a prime mover in procuring the establishment of the Episcopal Church here.

He investigated religious as well as secular matters. He was permitted free access to the minutes of the General Meetings of the missionaries, which, although printed, had not been made public. He advised that they be made public "for the information of the religious world, and in vindication of the many calumnies which have been propagated against the labors of the American missionaries in these islands. I have found nothing in them that does not redound to the honor of the missionaries and convict their calumniators of misrepresentation."

"Except as a Christian and a philanthropist, I have nothing to do with the American missionaries, but, if it be true—and I have yet to learn that it is not—that in the uprooting of heathenism, establishment of Christianity, introduction of education, and abolition of immoral practices, their success in these islands has been greater and more universal than that of any other body of Protestant missionaries

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<sup>22</sup>See pp. 27-31, *The Human Side of Hawaii*, A. W. Palmer, 1924.

in any other field, a correct view of their proceedings becomes a matter of great interest to all Protestants to whatever nation they belong."

"In these Islands the honor of the missionaries may be safely left to the fair application of their sacred maxim—'by their fruits ye shall know them,' but as the tongue of evil report has been heard against them in foreign parts, where their fruits cannot be thoroughly known and appreciated, I shall take occasion to notice a few of the misrepresentations that have gone abroad."

He then took up seriatim the anti-missionary criticisms of that time. One charge was that the missionaries "have attended more to their secular interests than to the spiritual welfare of their flocks." This was the forerunner of the charge of stealing the land, for, as Prof. Alexander said in his reply to Bishop Staley, "Until the year 1848, not one of them (the missionaries) as far as the writer can learn, owned a foot of land, or even a cow." Mr. Wyllie, besides answering this charge by factual details, said generally, that if it were true, the missionaries "have been singularly unsuccessful in what has been supposed to be their main pursuit, for I know not one of them that has attained unto worldly wealth." One visitor in the early days, after accepting the hospitality of a missionary in an outer district, reported in New England that the missionaries lived luxuriously, so much so that their houses were made of mahogany, the truth being that the mahogany was koa sawed by hand out of the local forests—the cheapest and practically the only lumber available. This is only one of a number of similar stories that might be told.<sup>23</sup>

Another charge was just the opposite—"A too great spirituality in the abstractions of themselves and of the natives from all worldly pursuits and improvements." (On a number of points, the missionaries were criticised both ways.) This charge, of course, was easily answered by showing the great interest the missionaries took in promoting, by the establishment of industrial schools and otherwise, the material welfare of the people.

Another charge was that the missionaries "insidiously wormed themselves into the confidence of the king and chiefs, in order to exercise an influence favorable only to themselves and to the United States." Mr. Wyllie said: "Here, also, I find only bold and unscrupulous assertion, without even a shadow of truth." The American Board had given the missionaries strict instructions, and they themselves had passed resolutions, not to intrude in governmental affairs. Mr. Wyllie quotes in full, as bearing on this subject, a long resolution

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<sup>23</sup>*Fragments of Real Missionary Life, From the Recollections of Rev. John D. Paris, p. 27.* One of the rules of the Board was: "No missionary or assistant missionary of the Board shall engage in any business or transactions whatever for the sake of private gain; nor shall any one engage in transactions or employments yielding pecuniary profit, without first obtaining the consent of his brethren in the mission; and the profits, in all such cases, shall be placed at the disposal of the mission." (P. 13 of Compilation referred to in note 8.) This was modified in 1848.

of 1838,<sup>24</sup> of which he says: "Verily in my opinion, these resolutions ought to be printed in letters of gold and hung up in the *House of Nobles* as a beacon to guide their legislation for the welfare of the natives and of all the inhabitants of these islands." Several missionaries, it is true, entered government service, but this was at the urgent request of the government, and in each case the missionary resigned from the Mission. Mr. Wyllie takes up the case of each of those who had up to then entered such service—William Richards in 1838, Mr. and Mrs. Amos S. Cooke in 1839, and Dr. Gerrit P. Judd in 1842—and shows what splendid service they had rendered. It is true, also, that the leaven of missionary teachings profoundly influenced the government—unavoidably and most fortunately. This charge of attempting to control the government, to be referred to again below, was the principal criticism during the earlier decades, and was a principal charge against the Reformed Catholic Church after its establishment here.

Space need not be taken here on the lesser charges considered by Mr. Wyllie.

For the views of still another non-missionary, careful, fair-minded investigator, after hearing all sides, see *United States Exploring Expedition* (1845), Vol. 3, pp. 392-4, and Vol. 4, pp. 3-29, by Charles Wilkes, commander of the expedition, member of the American Philosophical Society, etc., who was here in 1840-1. Part of this is set forth in Appendix D.

Now to return to Melville, mentioned at the beginning of this paper: In the Appendix to *Typee*, Melville, after branding as "iniquitous" the highhandedness of the French at Tahiti, enforced at the point of the cannon, which was duplicated soon afterwards (1839) in Hawaii, proceeds to praise Lord George Paulet's somewhat similar action in Hawaii in 1843, saying that no events had ever been "more grossly misrepresented." He even tells how abused had been the British consul, Richard Charlton, whose misrepresentations brought about this very trouble and who was the ringleader of the forces of evil against the missionaries and the government from his appointment in 1825 until his dismissal immediately after these events. He refers to the king as an "imbecile," to Dr. Judd as "a sanctimonious apothecary-adventurer," and to the missionaries as a "junto of ignorant and designing Methodist elders."<sup>25</sup> He almost implies that the king made the "provisional cession" voluntarily. He tells how Paulet "endeared himself" to all, except the king and chiefs, "whose feudal sway over the common people is laboriously sought to be perpetuated by their missionary advisers," and how "to this hour (1846) the great body of the Hawaiian people invoke blessings on his head and look back with

<sup>24</sup>This is set out in Appendix B. See also note 8.

<sup>25</sup>Compare this with what Mr. Dana said of them, *ante*, p. 22.

gratitude to the time when his liberal and paternal sway diffused peace and happiness among them." He tells how Paulet "addressed himself to the task of . . . ameliorating . . . the condition of the degraded natives," and mentions as most praiseworthy the relaxation of the law against licentiousness; and he transfers the saturnalia of vice from the period of Paulet's rule to that of the ten-day celebration after the restoration. He represents Admiral Thomas as having brought the "authorities to terms; and so removed the necessity of acting any longer under the provisional cession."

It may be added that in *Typee* itself the author digresses several times to vent his views on Hawaii. He attributes chiefly to the missionaries both depopulation and loss of pristine happiness, although he is gracious enough to "admit" that the "deplorable condition" is due in part to "the demoralizing influence of a dissolute foreign population." He charges that "there is something decidedly wrong in the Sandwich Island Mission," and warns mainland contributors against it. He says that the missionaries dwell "in picturesque and prettily furnished coral-rock villas, whilst the miserable natives are committing all sorts of immoralities around them;" he refers to the king as "a fat, lazy negro-looking blockhead, with as little character as power" and as "a most inveterate dram-drinker;" and to Kaahumanu as a "monstrous Jezebel," and compares his precious Marquesans, physically and morally, with the Hawaiians, to the great disadvantage of the latter.<sup>26</sup>

The actual facts are so well established and have been recounted so often that, however tempting, refutation here of Melville's distortions, so far as Hawaii is concerned, is unnecessary.<sup>27</sup> But in justice both to his lordship and to his majesty, perhaps I may be excused for quoting briefly from what Mr. Wyllie, so careful and competent, wrote shortly after these events. This is not found in the readily accessible books. Referring to his lordship's circular relaxing the law against licentiousness, he agreed generally that the political changes of that year "seriously affected the religious feelings and practices of the natives" and says more particularly that "all respectable residents" concur that the "effects of the relaxation of the law were in truth most pernicious to public morals," but gives his lordship credit for sincerity of purpose, though lacking in judgment—first in accepting as true, without adequate investigation, the reports on which he based his action, and secondly in not understanding the native mind and ways sufficiently to realize what the result would be. Mr. Wyllie said that, "Because open and shameless prostitution followed the knowledge of

<sup>26</sup>See chs. XVII, XXV and XXVI.

<sup>27</sup>See, among other things, Dibble's History, chs. 14 and 15 (1843, 1909); Bingham's History (1847, 1848, 1855), pp. 592 et seq.; Alexander's History (1891), ch. 30; Kuykendall's History (1928), ch. 14; *Lowell and Abigail*, pp. 161-9; William Patterson Alexander, pp. 253-4; Report of Territorial Historical Commission (1925), p. 38 et seq.; Hawaiian Historical Society, 14th Annual Report (1906), pp. 26-8; *Hawaiian Annual* (1893), p. 70; *Journal of Levi Chamberlain*, manuscript in Carter Library, Vol. 24.

his circular, it is not to be inferred that his lordship foresaw or intended that result." Likewise, perhaps, Paulet's taking possession of this Island may be explained, consistently with sincerity of purpose, in part by his too ready acceptance of the misrepresentations of Charlton and others, and in part, as in the case of Lt. Bligh of "Bounty" fame, to the British naval psychology of the time, as well as to a sincere desire and belief that Hawaii should become a British possession. Charlton's chicanery during his eighteen years as British representative here had left no stone unturned to besmirch the missionaries, destroy the government of the king and chiefs, and bring about acquisition of the Islands by the British.

As to the king, Mr. Wyllie said: "His majesty of late years has become both the patron and example of temperance among his subjects and no one can be more regular in his attendance at church, or more zealous in discouraging the pagan rites, ceremonies and superstitions that formerly prevailed amongst the natives. . . . I have never heard a single remark unfavorable to his majesty Kamehameha III. All admit the goodness of his disposition; none accuse him of cruelty, tyranny or oppression; and those who have familiar access to him, all concur in ascribing to his majesty much natural talent and a good deal of acquired information."<sup>28</sup> The king, it is true, at times dissipated badly, but he always distinguished between his private and political positions; in the former, when in a weak period, telling the natives to do as he said and not as he did, and in the latter exhibiting always such dignity, wisdom, and liberal-mindedness as to earn the title "The Good King." Indeed such were the character and results of his reign that he might well be deemed Hawaii's King Alfred the Great. The king, it will be remembered, when he made the cession, which he did under protest and until the decision of the British government, expressed the earnest hope that the "life of the land" would soon be restored, and when restoration occurred, used in his splendid address to the people the words that ever since have been Hawaii's official motto: "*Ua mau ke ea o ka aina i ka pono*" ("The life of the land is perpetuated by righteousness.") Mr. Wyllie, as we have seen, also wrote in high terms of Dr. Judd.<sup>29</sup> As to Kaahumanu, Melville completely ignored her change upon her conversion in 1825, after which she was known as the "New Kaahumanu," and was one of the greatest powers for good in the history of Hawaii.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>28</sup>Kuykendall (History, p. 165) says: "Kamehameha III was probably the most beloved of all Hawaiian monarchs. After his death one who knew him well said of him, 'Much of the good which has been accomplished during his reign, much of the evil which has been prevented, and many of the happy changes which have taken place were doubtless brought about through the soundness of his judgment and the mildness of his character. He was gifted by the god of nature with many of those traits which qualify a person to be a good ruler in trying scenes and in peaceful times. He enjoyed the love of his people and the respect of foreigners.'" See also Jarves, *Scenes and Scenery of the Sandwich Islands* (1844), pp. 172-174, and Wilkes, *U. S. Exploring Expedition* (1845), Vol. 4, pp. 4, 10.

<sup>29</sup>See also *The Centennial Book*, pp. 35-40.

<sup>30</sup>See Mrs. H. A. P. Carter's Kaahumanu Memorial.



But how explain Melville's perversions? First, he himself, in order to show the reliability (?) of his information, tells us that during a residence of four months here, he "was in the confidence of an Englishman who was much employed by his lordship"! Secondly, his innate inaptitude to investigate and weigh facts. Thirdly, his iconoclastic cast of mind. He himself, as quoted by his biographer (R. M. Weaver, 1921) said: "For my part, I abominate all honourable, respectable toils, trials, and tribulations of every kind whatsoever." His admiring biographer was also candid enough to say: "Melville sinned blackly against the orthodoxy of his time. In his earlier years, he confined his sin to an attack upon missionaries and the starchings of civilization: sins that won him a *succes de scandal*. . . . But when Melville began flooding the very foundations of life with torrents of corrosive pessimism, the world at large found itself more vulnerable in its encasements. . . . As by a divine visitation, the Harper fire of 1853 effectually reduced *Pierre*—his most frankly poisonous book—to a safely limited edition. And the public, taking the hint, ceased buying his books."

And yet he had genius. Stevenson wrote in 1891 (*In the South Seas*, p. 28): "There are but two writers who have touched the South Seas with genius, both Americans: Melville and Charles Warren Stoddard." He then twitted "the first and greatest" on his inability to get hold of Polynesian words.<sup>30a</sup> The great sea-story writer, Russell, already mentioned, also praised Melville's sea-stories. None will question these estimates of Melville's genius at stories of these descriptions, although it scintillated for so short a time and then disappeared for the rest of a long life. His biographer speaks of his "paradoxical career: its brilliant early achievement, its long and dark eclipse." Genius of one sort is often combined with deficiencies of other sorts.

Stevenson, of course, did not sympathize with Melville's antipathy to Pacific Island missions. He wrote in a paper read in Sydney in 1893, the year before he died: "I suppose I am in the position of many persons. I had conceived a great prejudice against missions in the South Seas. I had no sooner come there than that prejudice was reduced, and then at last annihilated. . . . Those who have a taste for hearing missions, Catholic or Protestant, decried, must seek their pleasure elsewhere than in my pages," and, with all their faults, "the missionaries are the best and most useful whites in the Pacific. . . .

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<sup>30a</sup>"And at the christening of the first and greatest, some influential fairy must have been neglected: 'He shall be able to see,' 'He shall be able to tell,' 'He shall be able to charm,' said the friendly godmothers; 'But he shall not be able to hear,' exclaimed the last." *In the South Seas*, p. 28.

I have become a terrible missionaryite of late days: very much interested in their work, errors, and merits."<sup>31</sup>

This is not a paper on the missionaries, and hence the vast mass of commendatory literature by missionaries and non-missionaries has been disregarded, except as it seemed particularly pertinent to the matter of anti-missionary criticism under discussion. Nor has it seemed worth while, even if space permitted, to review the considerable condemnatory literature by anti-missionaries of the merely calumnious type. Moreover, in this brief paper it has been possible only to touch on some of the highlights, and in my citations of favorable witnesses I have confined myself mainly to non-missionaries of high repute who were both honest-minded and sufficiently informed at first hand to know whereof they spoke; for, after all, one such witness is worth a thousand of the other kind. Indeed, just as the missionaries may be judged by their fruits, so they may be judged, as it were, by the company they kept and the outcome of their trials. Why, it may well be asked, did they command the warm support of such outstanding non-missionary residents as Wyllie, Lee, and Bishop, why were their praises so uniformly sung by unprejudiced and informed visitors, why did king, chiefs and commoners have such unshaken confidence in them, and why did they always emerge triumphant from their engagements with the enemy?

During the earlier years, when there were few missionaries and the forces of evil in this part of the world were still mighty, the latter went to extremes, even to the use of armed force—captains and crews of whalers, traders, and even a United States war vessel attacking chiefs and missionaries with cannon, muskets, pistols and swords—to compel the repeal of the law against licentiousness—thus unconsciously testifying to the tremendous change already wrought by missionary teachings in half a decade. Then, visiting vessels finding it no longer feasible to attempt force, the local opposition, including the British and American consuls or agents until their dismissals, relied mainly on coralling visitors and stuffing them with the wildest tales, with the result that numerous narratives of voyages contained anti-missionary criticisms, often of ridiculous nature, and a flood of magazine articles, pro and con, appeared in both England and America.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup>From *Robert Louis Stevenson and Missions*, by J. W. Burton of Melbourne, in *Missionary Review of the World*, October, 1927. Miss Alexander (pp. 375-6) quotes Stevenson as follows with reference to Maka, a lone Hawaiian missionary at Butaritari, Micronesia: "The best specimen of the Christian hero that I ever met was one of these native missionaries. . . . Take him all in all, I have never known a more engaging creature than this parson of Butaritari; his worth, his kindness, his noble, friendly feelings, brimmed from the man in speech and gesture. . . . He had the morning cheerfulness of birds and healthy children; and his humor was infectious." How is that for a parson trained by those austere missionaries?

<sup>32</sup>See particularly: *The Quarterly Review*, London, March, 1827 (article printed also in the U. S.), May, 1830, April, 1831 (also Edinburgh, March, 1831); booklet by Wm. Orme, September, 1827; *The North American Review*, January, 1828 (also in pamphlet with additions); *American Quarterly Review*, June, 1828, September, 1831; pamphlet by Wm. Ellis, London, 1831. *The Spirit of the Pilgrims*, October and November, 1832.

These tactics, however, were not always successful, as, for instance, in the case of Lord Byron (cousin of the poet) of the British Navy, who in 1825 brought the bodies of the king and queen from England in the "Blonde." His high character and the circumstances of his visit proved sufficient safeguards. At a meeting of the chiefs and missionaries with Lord Byron and Charlton, the question of the relationship of the missionaries to the government arose, and his lordship, being satisfied that the instructions and policy of the missionaries were against interference in civil or political affairs, commended their labors. He had at a previous assemblage expressed to the young king "his desire that he might attend well to the instructions of the missionaries." The chiefs were particularly anxious for Lord Byron's opinion on these matters. The *Voyage of the Blonde*, published the next year, was a compilation prepared for a publisher by a so-called "fabricator" from various sources, much of it having nothing to do with that voyage, and apparently Lord Byron had no hand in its preparation. It contained some anti-missionary criticisms, which gave rise to much controversy in English and American magazine articles, some of which were published also in pamphlet form.<sup>33</sup> The missionaries themselves regarded Lord Byron's visit as most helpful to their cause.

Again, the next year, Captain Thomas Ap Catesby Jones of the American Navy, arrived on the "Peacock" to settle some complaints, which he did successfully, besides negotiating on behalf of his government the first treaty negotiated between Hawaii and any foreign country. Then a most remarkable thing happened—initiated by the missionaries, who were ever ready to meet their opponents in open combat and even to challenge them. The story, with its setting, would lose something of its significance and dramatic effectiveness if told in other than the Captain's own words.<sup>34</sup> Captain Jones told of the practice, pursued by the hostile element, of corraling and stuffing visitors, and described the occurrence in question as follows: "I believe that my opportunities for obtaining correct information, as regards missionary operations and missionary influence at the Sandwich Islands, in 1826, were better than any other person has enjoyed before or since. I was three months in the port of Honolulu, residing on shore all the time, and in daily intercourse with all parties. Arriving at the Islands, prejudiced as I was against all foreign missionaries, I was, for the first eight or ten days of my sojourn at Oahu, altogether in the hands of their opponents. The missionaries were holding their annual meeting on another island, and did not return

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<sup>33</sup>See articles listed in next preceding note.

<sup>34</sup>It is found in an article by him in the December, 1835, number of the *Military and Naval Magazine*, written in reply to an anonymous anti-missionary article that had appeared in an earlier number. The author of the anonymous article, an officer of the "Potomac," which visited here in 1832, replied under his own name in a later number. See also 39th An. Rep., Haw. Hist. Soc., 1931, pp. 17-30.

to Honolulu for several days after the 'Peacock's' arrival. During this brief interval, it can hardly be supposed that the training I underwent was at all calculated to remove the unfavorable impressions previously imbibed. So far from it, that, had I at that period have left the Islands and made up a verdict *upon ex parte evidence given in by so many interested witnesses*, I too no doubt should have rendered judgment more in accordance with him who writes under a 'sanctity of conscience'; but, happily for the cause of truth and justice, my sojourn was not so transient; and, happily, too, perhaps for the missionary cause, the 'Peacock's' arrival at the Islands was at a most eventful period, when the resentment of their opponents was at its height, and the issue was scarcely doubtful. In that dark day, when hardly one ray of hope was left them, the missionaries addressed a printed circular to the foreign residents and transient visitors at the Islands, in which they avowed the objects of the mission—stated the means they had practised to accomplish their most charitable designs—boldly offered to meet their opponents and accusers *face to face*, and make answer to any of the multifarious charges which had been so industriously and extensively circulated against them. This offer was seized with avidity by the leaders of missionary opposition at Honolulu, the necessary preliminaries were soon arranged, and a distant day was appointed for the meeting, in order to afford *ample time to collect testimony*. . . . At length the day of trial arrived, and the appointed hour found the accused and their accusers in juxtaposition at the house of Governor Boki, surrounded by a numerous and anxious auditory. I, too, was there, *by invitation from both parties*, as were also several of the 'Peacock's' officers; and I own I trembled for the cause of Christianity, and for the poor benighted islanders. . . . I saw, on the one hand, the *American and British consuls*, backed by the most wealthy and hitherto influential residents and ship masters, in formidable array, and, as I supposed, prepared to testify against some half a dozen meek and humble servants of the Lord, calmly seated on the other hand, ready and even anxious to be tried by their bitterest enemies, who on this occasion occupied the *quadruple stations of judge, jury, witness and prosecutor!* Thus situated, what could the friends of the mission hope for, or expect? Certainly nothing short of shame, confusion and utter ruin to fall upon the heads of this little band of brothers, united and ardently laboring in their great Master's cause. But, what in reality was the result of this portentous meeting, which was to have overthrown the missionaries, uproot the seeds of civilization and of Christianity, so extensively and prosperously sown by them in every direction, and in their stead idolatry and heathenism was to ride triumphant through all coming time. Such was the object and such were the hopes of many of the foreign residents at the Sandwich Islands in 1826. But what, I again ask, was the issue of this great trial? The most *perfect, full, complete, and triumphant victory* for the missionaries, that could have been asked for by their

most devoted friends. Not one *jot*, or *tittle*, not *one iota*, derogatory to their characters as *men*, as *ministers of the gospel*, of the strictest order, or as *missionaries*, could be sustained by the *united efforts of all* who conspired against them, when brought to that *touchstone* of the conscience, an oath on the Holy Evangely of Almighty God!" (Italics his.)

And in 1829, Captain Finch of the United States Navy arrived in the "Vincennes," bringing a most encouraging letter from the Secretary of the Navy by direction of the President, John Quincy Adams, congratulating the king and chiefs on their "rapid progress in acquiring a knowledge of letters and of true religion" and saying that, "Our citizens who violate your laws . . . violate at the same time their duty to their own government and country, and merit censure and punishment."

All three of these naval officers gave much helpful advice to the king and chiefs in government matters.

The flow of anti-missionary criticism had, of course, its crescendos and diminuendos. At times the missionaries rode the crest of the wave—as in 1844, after the "Great Revival," the weathering of the Paulet storm, and the recognition of Hawaiian independence by the great powers—all to the credit of the missionaries and their allies. Miss Alexander reports (p. 258) her grandfather as writing when in attendance at the General Meeting of that year: "We had a conference meeting last night, a good rousing meeting. The main thought pressed was that now, the tables being turned, the lately abused missionaries being praised by the world, we have reason to fear that spirituality will decline. When Nebuchadnezzar<sup>35</sup> waxed fat, he *kicked*. When Constantine loaded the church with riches and honors, it became corrupt. Our enemies now speak well of us, rulers of great nations laud us. Let us beware lest we forget God and trust another." Think of those old (they were then rather young) Puritan knights, as Mark Twain later called them, worrying lest they suffer loss of spirituality from a let-up in the almost incessant attacks! Perhaps, after all, in the words of David Harum, "A reasonable amount of fleas is good for a dog—they keep him f'm broodin' on bein' a dog"—which seems to confirm the last beatitude.

This paper is already too long to admit of going into other phases of anti-missionary criticism, and I will close with this—*anent* the argument that there is so much to be done at home that money should not be spent on foreign missions. I will not go into the question of the application of the law of diminishing returns on the home fields and the greater productiveness of virgin foreign fields from a religious standpoint, or the material returns through increased commerce and improved international relations, or even the returns in

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<sup>35</sup>A mistake for Jeshurun; see Deut. 32, 15.

enlargement of mind and soul to those who cultivate a wider outlook than that of narrow provincialism or nationalism. Nor, in the case of Hawaii, will I here dwell on the results, direct and indirect, from the preservation of the independence of Hawaii against other designing nations until the time should come for union with the United States, in case changing conditions should call for union with any other power, or from the preparation of Hawaii for filling its unique part as a constituent member of the Union, if and when that time should come. I will mention merely one by-product. Reference has already been made to the origination of industrial schools by the missionaries. These, besides becoming precedents for missions the world over, became the suggestion and inspiration that led the missionary son, General Samuel C. Armstrong, after fighting through the Civil War, to contribute towards the solution of the negro problem which arose out of that war, the founding and development of Hampton Institute, from which also sprang Tuskegee and other like institutions. If the million-dollar cost of the Hawaiian Mission to the American people through the American Board, regarded as bread cast upon the waters, had after many days returned nothing more than this by-product, the return would have been many fold.

*Walter A. Fears*

Honolulu, T. H.,  
January 7, 1935.

## APPENDIX A

(Extract from Reply of Wm. Ellis to Bishop Staley.\* Referred to on Page 12)

The "stern Puritanism," etc., of former times in America, caricatured and needlessly introduced into this discussion, has nothing to do with the question; for the missionaries never taught the things mentioned. Puritanism is counted an honor by other Christians besides the American missionaries, and Calvinism, which seems to be so offensive to the impugnors of the Mission, finds a place in other articles of doctrine besides those of New England preachers. It is perhaps doubtful whether Bishop Staley, who pronounces so confidently upon the baneful influence of the preaching of the missionaries, ever heard one of their sermons, or even received a faithful report of one.

Even this charge against the missionaries of preaching the stern doctrines of Puritanism is only an ancient accusation revived to meet a modern necessity—the necessity of finding a reason for sending the new Mission to Honolulu. This charge was preferred and refuted forty years ago. In 1827, Captain Sayre, a gentleman of intelligence and observation, who had made two voyages to the Pacific and visited the Islands in both, spent several weeks on shore, conversed frequently with the Governor of Hawaii, took great pains to ascertain what was the character and conduct of the missionaries, and his testimony published on his return is, that their conduct was "firm, dignified, Christian, and moderate;" and that instead of, as had been stated, "attempting to force the darkest and most dreary parts of Puritan discipline upon the simple-minded Islanders, they instructed them in the plain, simple, practical truths and principles of the Gospel."

I was myself associated with the first missionaries in their preaching labors, and never noticed anything contrary to the doctrines generally held by the Evangelical portion of Christendom. We often conferred together on the parts of Divine revelation most suitable to the peculiar state of the people. Three points we felt should be plainly and constantly set before them, viz., the consequences of sin, the necessity of regeneration to salvation, and the love and power of God in providing the means for securing both. Some of the missionaries thought that in the actual state of the people these truths should find a place in every address. In reference to my own teaching, I considered that every address might be the first and the last which someone would ever hear; for there were often very aged persons present, and I never considered that I had faithfully delivered the Gospel message unless, whatever might be my text, I had stated as plainly as I could that the wages of sin is death, that the gift of

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\*William Ellis, for some years a missionary of the London Missionary Society at Tahiti, spent about two years in 1822-4 in Hawaii at the request of the American missionaries in the latter group, and was exceedingly helpful in matters of language, hymnology, etc., as well as methods of evangelism. Most of his later life was spent in England, as minister, lecturer and writer. He was in Madagascar several years, first as missionary and later as diplomat. For an account of his life, see *Hawaiian Annual*, 1933, pp. 73-81. He was a man of exceptional ability and was the author of the standard work *Polynesian Researches* (several editions) in four volumes, of which the fourth is on Hawaii; also author of other volumes as well as magazine and encyclopaedia articles.

See also ch. 5 of S. Dibble's History, 1843, 1909, on methods of missionary work.

God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord, and that he that believeth shall be saved.

The teaching of the other missionaries differed little from my own; and I only state this as evidence of what the teaching of the missionaries was at the close of 1824. There is no reason to suppose that it has changed on any material points since that time; some of my fellow-laborers are preachers there still; and I see no deviation from the doctrines then held in the books they have published at Honolulu, of some of which they have sent me copies.

The first book published by the missionaries, after the spelling book, was the Sermon on the Mount. The next was the History of Joseph. Thus far, there is certainly nothing to coerce the people by its severity into immorality; and authentic testimony to a different kind of teaching has yet to be adduced.

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## APPENDIX B

(Resolutions adopted by the Missionaries at General Meeting in 1838.  
Referred to on Page 25)

### 7. DUTIES OF THE MISSION TO RULERS AND SUBJECTS AS SUCH.

1st. Resolved, That though the system of government in the Sandwich Islands has, since the commencement of the reign of Rihoriho, been greatly improved through the influence of Christianity and the introduction of written and printed laws, and the salutary agency of Christian chiefs has proved a great blessing to the people, still the system is so very imperfect for the management of the affairs of a civilized and virtuous nation, as to render it of great importance, that correct views of the rights and duties of rulers and subjects and of the principles of jurisprudence and political economy, should be held up before the king and the members of the national council.

2nd. Resolved, That it is the duty of missionaries to teach the doctrine that rulers should be just, ruling in the fear of God, seeking the best good of their nation, demanding no more of subjects as such, than the various ends of the government may justly require; and if church members among them violate the commands of God, they should be admonished with the same faithfulness and tenderness as their dependants.

3rd. Resolved, That rulers in power are so by the providence of God, and in an important sense by the will or consent of the people, and ought not to resign or shrink from the cares and responsibilities of their office; therefore teachers of religion ought carefully to guard the subjects against contempt for the authority of their rulers, or any evasion or resistance of government orders, unless they plainly set at defiance the commands of God.

4th. Resolved, That the resources of the nation are at its own disposal for its defence, improvement and perfection, and subjects ought to be taught to feel that a portion of their time and services, their property and earnings may rightfully be required by the sovereign or national council, for the support of government, in all its branches and departments, and that it is a Christian duty to render honor, obedience, fear, custom and tribute to whom they are due, as taught in the 13th of Romans, and that the sin of disloyalty which tends to confusion, anarchy and ruin, deserves reproof really and as promptly as that of injustice on the part of rulers or any other violation of the commands of God.

5th. Resolved, That while rulers should be allowed to do what they will with their own, or with what they have a right to demand, we ought to encourage the security of the right of subjects also to do what they will with their own, provided they render to Caesar his due.

6th. Resolved, That rulers ought to be prompted to direct their efforts to the promotion of general *intelligence* and *virtue* as a grand means of removing the existing evils of the system, gradually defining and limiting by equitable

laws the rights and duties of all classes, that thus by improving rather than revolutionizing the government, its administration may become more abundantly salutary, and the hereditary rulers receive no detriment but corresponding advantage.

7th. Resolved, That to remove the improvidence and imbecility of the people, and promote the industry, wealth and happiness of the nation, it is the duty of the mission to urge mainly the motives to loyalty, patriotism, social kindness and general benevolence; but while on the one hand he should not condemn their artificial wants, ancient or modern, because they depend on fancy, or a taste not refined; he should on the other endeavor to encourage and multiply such as will enlist their energies, call forth ingenuity, enterprise, and patient industry, and give scope for enlarged plans of profitable exertion, which, if well directed, would clothe the population in beautiful cottons, fine linen and silk, and their arable fields with rich and various productions, suited to the climate; would adorn the land with numerous comfortable, substantial habitations, made pleasant by elegant furniture, cabinets, and libraries; with permanent and well endowed school houses and seminaries; large, commodious and durable churches, and their seas and harbors with ships owned by natives, sufficient to export to other countries annually the surplus products of their soil, which may at no very distant period amount to millions.

### 13. HOW FAR MAY MISSIONARIES ENGAGE IN AGRICULTURE?

Resolved, That we deem it proper for members of this mission, to devote a portion of their time to instructing the natives into the best method of cultivating their lands, and of raising flocks and herds, and of turning the various products of the country to the best advantage for the maintenance of their families, the support of government and of schools and the institutions of the gospel, and its ministers at home and abroad.

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## APPENDIX C

(Extract from Letter of Richard Henry Dana to the New York Tribune of May 26, 1860.\* Referred to on Page 22)

It is no small thing to say of the Missionaries of the American Board, that in less than forty years they have taught this whole people to read and to write, to cipher and to sew. They have given them an alphabet, grammar, and dictionary; preserved their language from extinction; given it a literature, and translated into it the Bible and works of devotion, science and entertainment, etc., etc. They have established schools, reared up native teachers, and so pressed their work that now the proportion of inhabitants who can read and write is greater than in New England; and whereas they found these islanders a nation of half-naked savages, living in the surf and on the sand, eating raw fish, fighting among themselves, tyrannized over by feudal chiefs, and abandoned to sensuality, they now see them decently clothed, recognizing the law of marriage, knowing something of accounts, going to school and public worship with more regularity than the people do at home; and the more elevated of them taking part in conducting the affairs of the constitutional monarchy under which they live, holding seats on the judicial bench and in the legislative chambers, and filling posts in the local magistracies.

It is often objected against missionaries, that a people must be civilized before it can be Christianized; or at least that the two processes must go on together, and that the mere preacher, with his book under his arm, among a barbarous people is an unprofitable laborer. But the missionaries to the Sandwich Islands went out in families, and planted themselves in households, carrying with them, and exhibiting to the natives, the customs, manners, comforts, discipline, and order of civilized society. Each house was a centre and source of civilizing influences; and the natives generally yielded to the superiority of our civilization, and copied its ways; for, unlike the Asiatics, they had no civilization of their own, and, unlike the North American Indians, they were capable of civilization. Each missionary was obliged to qualify himself, to some extent, as a physician and surgeon, before leaving home; and each mission-house had its medicine-chest, and was the place of resort by the natives for medicines and medical advice and care. Each missionary was a school-teacher to the natives in their own language; and the women of the missions, who were no less missionaries than their husbands, taught schools for women and children, instructing them not only in books, but in sewing, knitting, and ironing, in singing by note, and in the discipline of children. These mission families, too, were planted as garrisons would have been planted by a military conqueror in places where there were no inducements of trade to carry families; so that no large region, however difficult of access, or undesirable as a residence, is without its headquarters of religion and civilization. The women of the mission, too, can approach the native women and children in many ways not open to men,—as in

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\*This extract is from Anderson's History, pp. 99-106. Mr. Dana expressed his approval of the use made of his article by Dr. Anderson. Hopkins (pp. 391-393 of the 1866 ed. of his History) quotes about half of the rest of Dana's letter.

their sickness, and by the peculiar sympathies of sex,—and thus exert the tenderest, which are often the most decisive, influences.

In the course of the two months I have spent upon these Islands, it has been my good fortune to be the guest of many of the mission families, and to become more or less acquainted with nearly all of them. And, besides fidelity in the discharge of their duties to the natives, I can truly say that in point of kindness and hospitality to strangers, of intelligence and general information, of solicitude and painstaking for the liberal education of their children, and of zeal for the acquirement of information of every sort, it would be difficult to find their superiors among the most favored families at home. I have seen in their houses collections of minerals, shells, plants, and flowers, which must be valuable to science; and the missionaries have often preserved the best, sometimes the only, record of the volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, and other phenomena and meteorological observations. Besides having given, as I have said, to the native language an alphabet, grammar, dictionary, and literature, they have done nearly all that has been done to preserve the national traditions, legends, and poetry. But for the missionaries, it is my firm belief that the Hawaiian would never have been a written language; there would have been few or no trustworthy early records, historical or scientific; the traditions would have perished; the native government would have been overborne by foreign influences, and the interesting, intelligent, gentle native race would have sunk into insignificance, and perhaps into servitude to the dominant whites.

The educational system of the Islands is the work of the missionaries and their supporters among the foreign residents, and one formerly of the mission is now Minister of Education. In every district are free schools for natives. In these they are taught reading, writing, singing by note, arithmetic, grammar, and geography, by native teachers. At Lahainaluna is the Normal School for natives, where the best scholars from the district schools are received and carried to an advanced stage of education, and those who desire it are fitted for the duties of teachers. This was originally a mission school, but is now partly a government institution. Several of the missionaries, in small and remote stations have schools for advanced studies, among which I visited several times that of Mr. Lyman, at Hilo, where there are nearly one hundred native lads; and all the under teachers are natives. These lads had an orchestra of ten or twelve flutes, which made very creditable music. At Honolulu there is a royal school for natives, and another middle school for whites and half-castes; for it has been found expedient generally to separate the races in education. Both these schools are in excellent condition. But the special pride of the missionary efforts for education is the High School or College of Punahou. This was established for the education of the children of the mission families, and has been enlarged to receive the children of other foreign residents, and is now an incorporated college with some seventy scholars. The course of studies goes as far as the end of the Sophomore year in our New England colleges, and is expected soon to go farther. The teachers are young men of the mission families, taught first at this school, with educations finished in the colleges of New England, where they have taken high rank. At Williams College there

were at one time five pupils from this school, one of whom was the first scholar, and four of whom were among the first seven scholars of the year; and another of the professors at Punahou was the first scholar of his year at New Haven. I attended several recitations at Punahou in Greek, Latin, and mathematics, and after having said that the teachers were leading scholars in our colleges, and the pupils mostly children of the mission families, I need hardly add that I advised the young men to remain there to the end of the course, as they could not pass the Freshman and Sophomore years more profitably elsewhere, in my judgment. The examinations in Latin and Greek were particularly thorough in etymology and syntax. The Greek was read both by the quantity and by the printed accent, and the teachers were disposed to follow the continental pronunciation of the vowels in the classic languages, if that system should be adopted in the New England colleges. It is upon that system that the native alphabet was constructed by the missionaries. This institution must determine, in a great measure, the character not only of the rising generation of whites, but, as education proceeds downward, and not upward, also that of the natives. It is the chief hope of the people, who have spent their utmost upon it, and are now making an appeal for aid in the United States—an appeal that ought not to be unsuccessful.

Among the traders, shipmasters, and travellers who have visited these Islands, some have made disparaging statements respecting the missionaries; and a good deal of imperfect information is carried home by persons who have visited only the half-Europeanized ports, where the worst view of the condition of the natives is presented. I visited among all classes—the foreign merchants, traders, and shipmasters, foreign and native officials, and with the natives, from the King and several of the chiefs to the humblest poor, whom I saw without constraint in a tour I made alone over Hawaii, throwing myself upon their hospitality in their huts. I sought information from all, foreign and native, friendly and unfriendly; and the conclusion to which I came is, that the best men, and those who are best acquainted with the history of things here, hold in high esteem the labors and conduct of the missionaries. The mere seekers of pleasure, power, or gain, do not like their influence; and those persons who sympathized with that officer of the American navy who compelled the authorities to allow women to go off to his ship by opening his ports and threatening to bombard the town, naturally are hostile to the missions. I do not mean, of course, that there is always unanimity among the best people, or perhaps among the missionaries themselves, on all questions; e.g., as to the toleration of Catholics, and on some minor points of social and police regulation. But on the great question of their moral influence, the truth is that there has always been, and must ever be, in these Islands, a peculiar struggle between the influences for good and the influences for evil. They are places of visit for the ships of all nations, and for the temporary residence of mostly unmarried traders; and at the height of the whaling season the number of transient seamen in the port of Honolulu equals half the population of the town. The temptations arising from such a state of things, too much aided by the inherent weakness of the native character, are met by the ceaseless efforts of the best people, native and foreign,

in the use of moral means and by legislative coercion. It is a close struggle, and, in the large seaports, often discouraging and of doubtful issue; but it is a struggle of duty, and has never yet been relaxed. Doubtless the missionaries have largely influenced the legislation of the kingdom, and its police system; it is fortunate that they have done so. Influence of some kind was the law of the native development. Had not the missionaries and their friends among the foreign merchants and professional men been in the ascendant, these Islands would have presented only the usual history of a handful of foreigners exacting everything from a people who denied their right to anything. As it is, in no place in the world that I have visited are the rules which control vice and regulate amusements so strict, yet so reasonable, and so fairly enforced. The government and the best citizens stand as a good genius between the natives and the besieging army. As to the interior, it is well known that a man may travel alone, with money, through the wildest spots, unarmed. Having just come from the mountains of California, I was prepared with the usual and necessary belt and its appendages of that region, but was told that those defences were unheard of in Hawaii. I found no hut without its Bible and hymn-book in the native tongue, and the practice of family prayer and grace before meat, though it be over no more than a calabash of poi and a few dried fish, and whether at home or on journeys, is as common as in New England a century ago.

It may be asked whether there is no offset, no deduction to be made from this high estimate of the American missionaries. As to their fidelity and industry in the worst of times, and their success up to the point they have now reached, I think of none. As to the prospects for their system in the future, and the direction the native mind may take in its further progress, there are some considerations worthy of attention.”

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## APPENDIX D

(Extracts from *United States Exploring Expedition* (1845), by Charles Wilkes, U.S.N., Commander of the Expedition, who was in Hawaii in 1840-1841. Vol. 3, pp. 392-4; Vol. 4, pp. 5-8. Referred to on Page 25.)

We had a good opportunity of observing the advance they were making in civilization under the new organization of the government and laws, and the amount of good the missionaries had done; of which I shall speak hereafter.

From my long stay at the different islands of this group, many opportunities were afforded me of examining their establishments in detail. I therefore feel that I may be permitted to give an opinion without the imputation of having been overhasty, or prejudiced in forming it. Such haste or prejudice may with some reason be imputed to those who not unfrequently imbibe their notions of these islanders and their teachers from a few days' sojourn, and who have had intercourse only with those opposed to both the government and missionaries. I am not at all surprised that this should be the case with those who only visit Honolulu.

That great licentiousness and vice exist there, is not to be denied; but to throw the blame of them on the missionaries, seems to me to be the height of injustice. I am well satisfied that the state of things would be much worse were it not for their watchfulness and exertions. The lower class of foreigners who are settled in these islands, are a serious bar to improvement in morals, being for the most part keepers of low taverns, sailors' boarding houses, and grog-shops. Every inducement that can allure sailors from their duty, and destroy their usefulness, is held out to them here. Such men must be obnoxious in any community, and that they are not able to make more disturbance than they do, supported as they are by those who ought to know better, is, I am satisfied, mainly owing to the attention and energy of the governor, and the watchfulness of the members of the mission over the natives.

I do not desire to be understood to express the opinion that the course pursued by the missionaries is in all respects calculated to produce the most happy effects. I am, however, well satisfied that they are actuated by a sincere desire to promote the welfare and improvement of the community in which they live; I therefore feel it my duty to bear ample testimony to their daily and hourly exertions to advance the moral and religious interests of the native population, not only by precept but by example; and to their untiring efforts, zeal, and devotion, to the sacred cause in which they are engaged.

I shall hereafter have occasion to speak of the institutions of which they are the authors, and of their connection with the government; in short of their secular avocations. I have myself had intercourse both with the missionaries and those who are their opponents; and it gave me pleasure to perceive that, with but three or four exceptions, there was a degree of moderation exhibited by both parties, that bespoke the dawn of a good feeling towards each other, to which they had long been strangers.

In consequence of this new state of things, I was not called upon to listen to the vituperation and abuse of the missionaries that I had been prepared to hear. A warfare was, however, kept up between the individuals belonging to the rival nations of England and the United States, which afforded ample room for the tongue of scandal to indulge itself. The missionaries wisely abstained from all connexion with either party; and the governor, with much energy and decorum, sustained with impartiality the supremacy of the laws.

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I also had the pleasure of visiting the missionaries; and as many misrepresentations have been published, and much misunderstanding exists, relative to their domiciles, I trust I may be excused if I give a short description of their interior, to set the matter at rest. It will I think be sufficient to satisfy any one that they are not as luxurious in their furniture as has been sometimes represented. Their houses are generally one story and a half high, situated fifteen or twenty paces within an unpretending gate, and the garden is surrounded by adobe walls about seven or eight feet high. Some of the houses are of stone, but most of them are of wood; they are from twenty to thirty feet square, and twenty feet high, and have the appearance of having been added to as the prosperity of the mission increased. The front door opens into the principal room, which is covered with a mat or common ingrain carpeting, and furnished with a table, a few windsor chairs, a rocking chair, and sofa, all of wood. There is a very high mantel, but no fire-place, the latter not being needed. On the mantel are placed four glass lamps, each with one burner, and in the centre a small china vase, with a bunch of flowers in it. Several coloured scriptural prints hang on the walls about a foot below the ceiling; on the table were a few devotional books.

The eating-room adjoins the principal room, and in one corner stands a cupboard, or an old sideboard, very much the worse for wear. This contained the common earthenware used at meals. A native girl, or woman, is all the "help"; and both the master and mistress take a part in many of the domestic duties. As to their fare, it is plain, simple, and wholesome, and always accompanied with a hearty welcome and cheerful, contented faces,—at least, I found it so. The salaries of all, both clerical and secular members, are the same, namely, four hundred dollars for a family. How it is possible for them to clothe and maintain a family on such a stipend at Honolulu, I am unable to conceive. They receive no other compensation, nor are they allowed to hold any property for themselves, not even a cow. All must belong to the mission, and be paid for by it.

To several of the missionaries I feel indebted for unsolicited kindnesses, and I spent many agreeable hours in their society. I must bear testimony that I saw nothing but a truly charitable and Christian bearing towards others throughout my intercourse with them, and heard none but the most charitable expressions towards their assailants. Heedless of the tongue of scandal, they pursued their duties with evenness of temper, and highly laudable good-will.



Near the missionaries' dwellings is their printing establishment under the superintendence of Mr. Rogers. Here they have three presses, which are generally in active employment. The workmen are all natives, and, from Mr. Rogers's account, they work very steadily, during the hours of labour, throughout the year. This occupation is considered as the road to preferment; for the knowledge and habits of industry they acquire in it naturally raise them above their fellows, and they are soon required for the wants of the country, either in teaching schools or other employments under the government.

I was told that upwards of four reams of paper are printed daily, affording an extensive circulation of books in the native language. Eleven thousand copies of the whole Bible have been printed, and two weekly papers are published, one in English, called the *Polynesian*, the other in the Hawaiian language, which the natives generally read. They have likewise a book-bindery, under the direction of the society. Many tracts are also published, some of which are by native authors. Of these I cannot pass at least one without naming him. This is David Maro, who is highly esteemed by all who know him, and who lends the missionaries his aid, in mind as well as example, in ameliorating the condition of his countrymen, and checking licentiousness. At the same time he sets an example of industry, by farming with his own hands, and manufactures from his sugar-cane an excellent molasses.

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As the natives, under the tuition of the missionaries, emerged from barbarism, instead of deriving encouragement from their intercourse with foreigners, difficulties were thrown in their way. The chief agents in the vexations to which the government has been exposed, are the designing individuals who hold the situation of consuls of the two great European powers; and through their baleful influence the difficulties have been continually increasing, until, finally, these islands and their government have been forced upon the attention of the whole civilized world. All the laws and regulations established by the kings and chiefs for repressing immorality and vice, were not only derided, but often set at open defiance, because they clashed with the interests of some of the individuals settled here. If attempts were made to enforce them, official remonstrances were resorted to, accompanied by threats of punishment. As this, for a long time, did not follow, the matter came to be considered as a systematic course of bullying, which soon lost its effect, and remained unheeded. When these idle threats failed to effect their object, the new one of the arrival of a man-of-war was held out as a terror. In these disputes the missionaries seldom took a part, even in the way of advice, and left the chiefs to their own guidance. They did not feel themselves competent to give advice upon international questions, and, besides, considered them as of a temporal character; for which reason they believed it their duty to abstain from any connexion with the disputes. They could not, however, avoid being as much surprised as the chiefs themselves were, at the continually renewed difficulties which were made by these troublesome officials, and which there was nothing in the laws or regulations to justify.

As to the threat of the coming of a man-of-war, the natives rather looked to it as the sure termination of the vexations to which they were exposed. They had formed their opinion of the character and probable course of action of the naval officers of either of the two great powers from the visit of Lord Byron in H.B.M. frigate *Blonde*. This vessel had been the bearer of the bodies of the late King Liho-liho and his wife from England, and her commander had made a most favorable impression upon the chiefs and people. They therefore expected that on the arrival of another man-of-war, all existing difficulties would be removed, and that their good intentions and strict adherence to justice would be made manifest. In this expectation they were disappointed; the British naval commanders who came afterwards were not Byrons, and were, with one or two exceptions, the willing tools of the designing consul. Influenced by his erroneous representations, they demanded apologies and concessions, and endeavored to dictate treaties. The regent and chiefs resisted these demands, and many disagreeable interviews occurred.

England was not the only nation whose ships of war were brought to aid in overawing the natives. A Frenchman, who claimed the title of consul, although not recognized as such by the king, persuaded the captain of a French frigate to insist upon his being acknowledged as a government agent. Thus, while this half-civilized community was struggling to make advances in morals and religion, French and English men-of-war, alternately, and occasionally in concert, did all in their power to break down the laws and regulations by which alone the union of the native barbarism with the worst vices of civilization could be prevented.

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## APPENDIX E

(Extract from Mark Twain's Article in the *Sacramento Daily Union* of July 30, 1866, in Regard to Bishop Staley.\* Referred to on Pages 20 and 21.)

Persons who are intimate with Bishop Staley say he is a good man, and a well educated and cultivated one, and that in social life he is companionable, pleasant and liberal spirited when church matters are not the topic of conversation. This is no doubt true; but it is my province to speak of him in his official, not in his private capacity. He has shown the temerity of an incautious, inexperienced and immature judgment in rushing in here fresh from the heart and home of a high English civilization and throwing down the gauntlet of defiance before a band of stern, tenacious, unyielding, tireless, industrious, devoted old Puritan knights who had seen forty years of missionary service; whose time was never fooled away in theorizing, but whose lightest act always meant business; who landed here two score years ago, full of that fervent zeal and restless determination inherited from their Pilgrim forefathers, and marched forth and seized upon this people with a grip of iron, and in the spirit of democracy and the religious enthusiasm that animated themselves; whose grip is still upon the race and can never be loosened till they, of their own free will and accord, shall relax it. He showed a marvelous temerity—one weak, inexperienced man against a host of drilled and hardy veterans; and among them great men—men who would be great in wider and broader spheres than that they have chosen here. He miscalculated the force, the confidence, the determination of that Puritan spirit which subdued America and underlies her whole religious fabric today—which subdued these islands, and whose influence over them can never be unseated.

The French Roman Catholic Mission here, under the Right Reverend Lord Bishop Maigret, goes along quietly and unostentatiously; and its affairs are conducted with a wisdom which betrays the presence of a leader of distinguished ability. The Catholic Clergy are honest, straight forward, frank and open; they are industrious and devoted to their religion and their work; they never meddle; whatever they do can be relied on as being prompted by a good and worthy motive. These things disarm resentment—prejudice cannot exist in their presence. Consequently, Americans are never heard to speak ill or slightly of the French Catholic Religion. Their religion is not nondescript—it is plain, out and out, undisguised and unmistakable Catholicism. You know right where to find them when you want them. The American missionaries have no quarrel with these men; they honor and respect and esteem them, and bid them God-speed. There is an anomaly for you—Puritan and Roman Catholic striding along, hand in hand, under the banner of the Cross.

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\*Mark Twain was in Hawaii a little over four months in 1866 to "ransack the islands" and write twenty or thirty letters to the *Union*. He travelled over the four principal islands and hobnobbed with people of every class. The article in question, a long front page one, was almost wholly on the Bishop, but ended with the second paragraph here quoted—on the Catholics—which also throws light on the missionaries. In the rest of the article, its author says, "My estimate of Bishop Staley is not carelessly formed," and goes into particulars; that is the part that Bishop Restarick refers to as "bitter invective" and "vitriolic."

## APPENDIX F

(Extract from James Jackson Jarves' *Scenes and Scenery of the Sandwich Islands* (1843, 1844), pages 195-198. Referred to on Pages 11 and 12.)\*

In justice to the missionaries it should be remarked that the comforts by which they are surrounded are mainly the result of their individual exertions. The privations of the first comers, particularly the ladies, for a number of years, were many. Their residences were the common straw huts of the country; damp and cold in the winter season, hot and accessible to dust and winds during the summer; at all times unhealthy and trying to a northern constitution. Much suffering and disease can be traced to these habitations. The first band, by some strange neglect, were landed without a provision of the commonest cooking

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\*The passages set forth on pp. 11 and 12 as quoted from Jarves by Bishop Restarick (with slight variations from the original) are from Jarves' "*Why and What am I? The Confessions of an Inquirer, Part I, Heart-Experiences; or the Education of the Emotions*," 1857, pp. 160, 172, 180. Part II, then proposed to be entitled "Art-Confession; or The Experience of Aesthetic Culture in Life," did not appear until 1864 and then under the title "*The Art Idea, Part Second of Confessions of an Inquirer*," reprinted in 1865 under the title "The Art Idea: Sculpture, Paintings, and Architecture in America." There were also later editions. Part III, proposed to be entitled "The Religious Idea; or, The Link Between the Present and Future," never appeared. Part I is an anomaly among Jarves' writings; for a severe criticism of it see *The Friend*, April 1, 1858, in which the editor expresses surprise that such a "bold, flippant, dogmatic, self-reliant, . . . scoffing, sceptical and immodest" book should be put forth by one who had "acquired a world-wide fame" as an author and a "literary reputation that gives him a standing among the best and most vigorous writers of the day." The book, purporting to be a sort of introspective religious and psychological autobiography, is largely allegorical, two of the principal characters being the author's alleged uncle-in-law, Rev. Abinadab Hardfaith and aunt Petronia, missionaries, whom he caricatures. In contrast is his *Kiana; A Tradition of Hawaii*, published the same year, 1857. Recent (uncompleted) research by several persons throws much doubt on his having been a nephew of any missionary.

As stated in the heading, the passage quoted in this Appendix is from his *Scenes and Scenery in the Sandwich Islands*, 1843, 1844, a factual book, supplementary to his *History*.

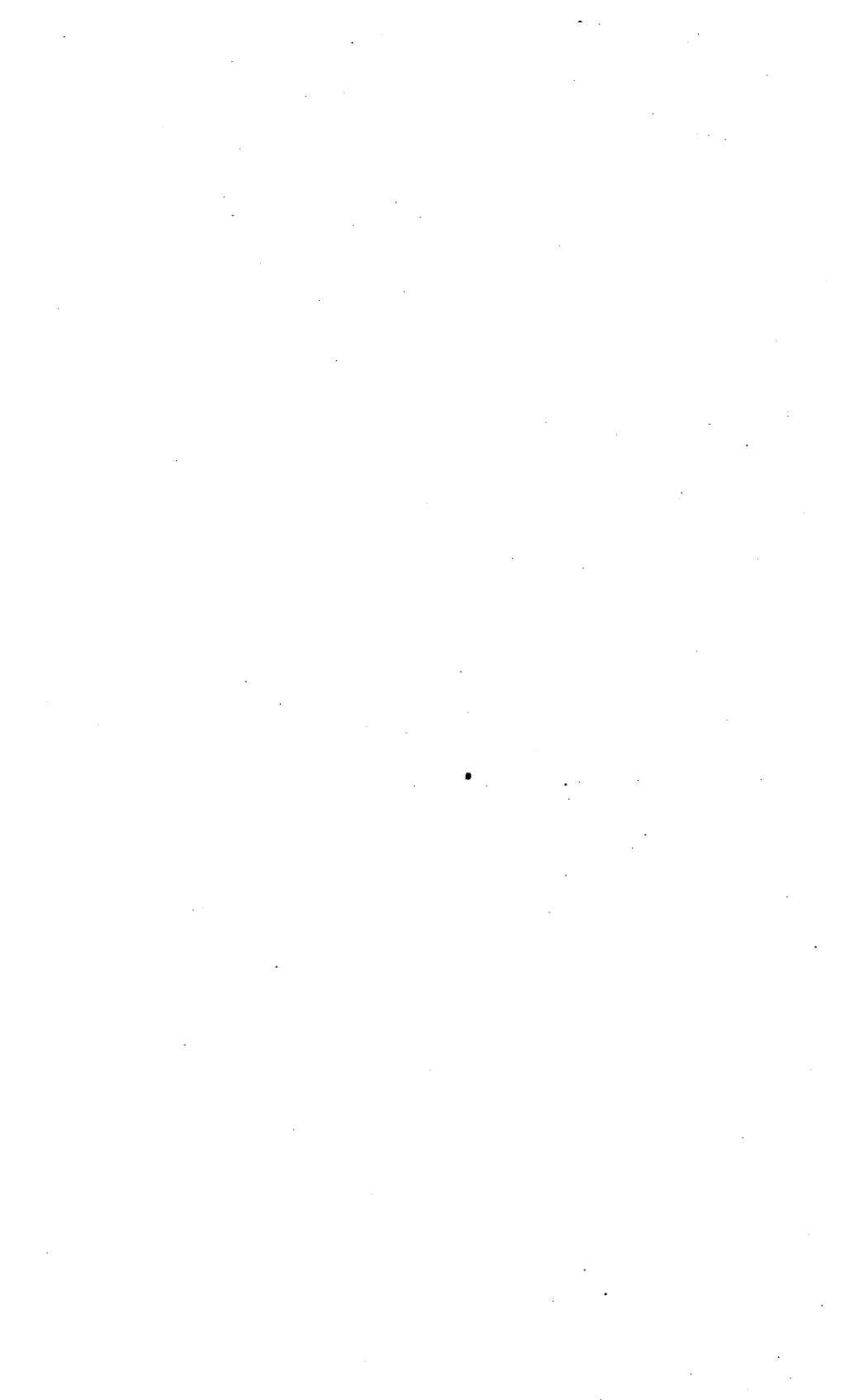
His *History of the Hawaiian Islands*, 1843 (Boston and London), 1844, 1847 (largely rewritten and brought up to date), 1872, 1909, is his best encomium of the missionaries, not designedly but necessarily so because he was a competent and sincere searcher for the truth. In the preface, after stating his anti-missionary prejudices acquired from reading the narratives of Beechey and others before coming to Hawaii, he continues: "A close examination it was expected would confirm these views. How far these opinions have been retained, the following pages will show. They are the results of convictions derived from a nearly four years (seven years, when he rewrote the book in 1847) residence at these islands, with diligent study of their ancient history and its connection with the political and religious changes. If the writer were of the same sect as that body whose missionary labors have been instrumental of so much good, he might be accused of a bias toward them. But such is not the case; he feels it a duty frankly to bear testimony to truth, in whomsoever it may appear, and whatsoever may be its shape. Had his former views been established, they would have been as freely proclaimed; his earnest desire being to contribute even a mite to the pages of history." It may be added that in his various writings he did not hesitate frankly to criticize the missionaries in some respects.

James Jackson Jarves was one of the founders (1840) and the editor of *The Polynesian*, a very creditable weekly, which was suspended upon his departure a year and a half later but was revived upon his return in 1844, when also it became the government organ. After he left the islands in 1848, it continued under others until 1864. He lived long in Florence. He was a "voluminous writer,"—"author, critic and pioneer art collector." Besides other books, principally on various countries, he wrote many volumes on art, particularly Italian art, his chief aim being "the diffusion of artistic knowledge and aesthetic taste in America." He made four collections, one of 119 early Italian masters (now in the Yale School of Fine Arts), one of 52 pieces (most of them now in the Cleveland Museum of Art), one of Venetian glass (now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), and one of embroideries, laces, costumes and Renaissance fabrics (now in the Farnsworth Museum, Wellesley College). His writings on art received high praise on both sides of the Atlantic, some reviewers going so far as to place him next to Ruskin. He was U. S. Vice-Consul at Florence for a time and is said to have been approached for appointment as Minister to Italy. He was decorated with the Order of Kamehameha I, was created a Chevalier of the Order of the Crown of Italy, was an honorary member of the *Accademia delle Belle Arti* of Florence, corresponding member of the American Oriental Society, patron of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, etc. See *Dict. of Am. Biog.* (1932), v. 9, pp. 618-620.

utensils; women, accustomed to all the paraphernalia of a yankee kitchen, were suddenly reduced to little better than the calabash and wooden bowl, the taro and pork of the savage. Their supplies from the United States for a long time were poor and inefficient, and to their labors of charity was added the absolute necessity of providing the ways and means for the sustenance of their families. At that time, also, if their lives were not actually endangered, their fears were constantly excited by the threats and outrages of a lawless white population. The worst savages they encountered were among their own race. Their friends were few and powerless. But most of their number have lived to witness and enjoy an entire change. It is the transformation of a wilderness to a blooming oasis. Public sentiment among all classes sustains them on the scene of their labors. They are valued and appreciated according to their real worth, as men, and as christians. Their families are welcomed within the circle of foreign residents, and a community of feeling now exists, of the most social and refined character, greatly to the advantage of all. The vile charges so freely circulated against them in former years, such as of being intemperate, licentious, and avaricious, have died a natural death, or are confined to a class whose appearance and reputation are of themselves sufficient expositors of their designing falsehoods.

It has been objected to many, that they are not men of sufficient intellectual calibre for such a situation. Some appear to regard it as necessary that all missionaries should be of great mental power, the master-spirits of their time. Such have ampler fields for their abilities or benevolence at home. They are best suited to operate upon a thinking, intelligent people. But for a race of semi-barbarians, children in knowledge and capacity, another class of mind is better adapted. And it is emphatically such as we find among the American missionaries. Not that they are all equally qualified, for several, after having fully tried the experiment, have both satisfied themselves and their friends that they had mistaken their pursuit, and have retired. But generally they are shrewd, intelligent, hard-working men, true sons of a republic, and possessing, in its full vigor, the chiefest of yankee qualifications, "gumption." Men of powerful intellects, who deal in theories, abstractions, or generalities, calculated to lead, enlighten, or confound the mass, would be ill adapted for this people. Their teachers must be men who can penetrate to the very alphabet of civilization, and that practically. Teach a native how to handle a hoe, a broomstick, a plough, or needle, as well as to spell ab and be, measure the revolution of the planets, and draw forth instruction from the well of living waters. Work and read with them, visit the cottage as well as the palace, please the children as well as the adult, administer aid to the afflicted, medicine to the sick, and consolation to the thirsty soul. He who says they are not all this, and more, does not know them. I have seen the same individual perform skilful surgical operations, practice medicine extensively, plough, and direct natives in the culture of their farms, build the stone-wall, and raise the massive roof of a church, a tinker and carpenter at home, a music-teacher, and a school-master, an interpreter for government, a translator for foreigners in drawing up deeds, in fact, an adept in every good and useful work, whether mental or manual. Beloved by all classes,

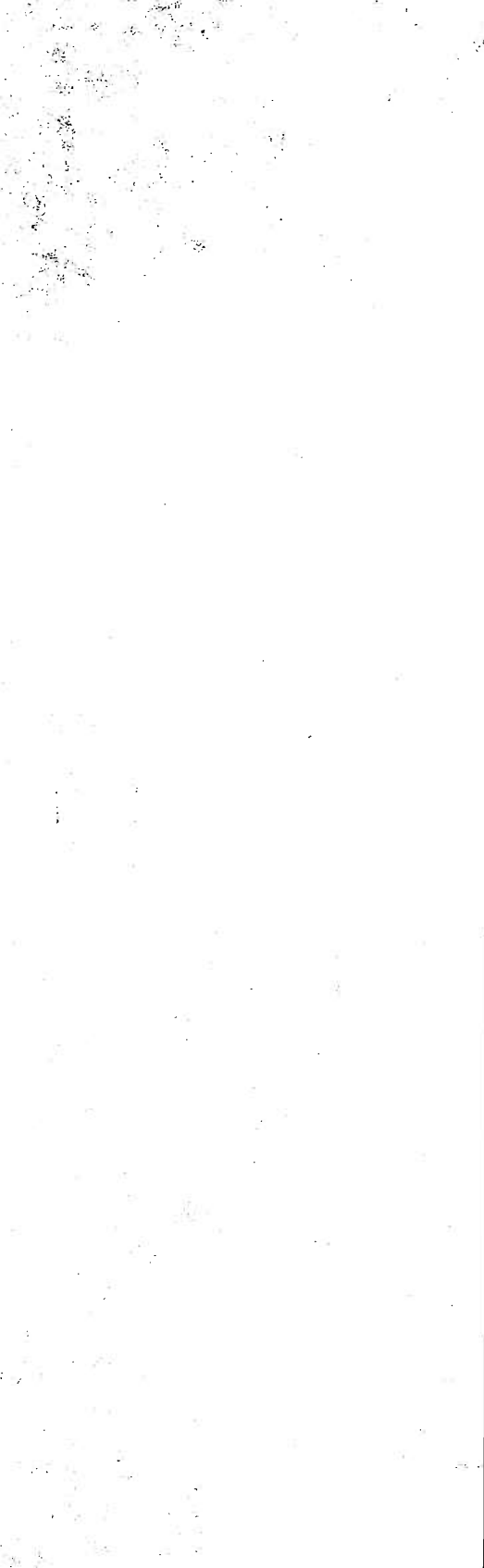
he is constantly laboring for all. With all this multifarious labor, he, with his spouse, a lady well worthy of such a husband, finds time to educate six children; and a better regulated, and more happy family, I have never seen. As a man and christian, his life is above reproach. Though so distinguished a specimen, he is but a type of a class. Some are preachers, some school-teachers, some printers, book-binders, or secular agents; and a better united, constantly laboring body, it would be difficult to find. Differing in opinion at times, but always united in purpose. Full of that zeal which seeks to make men happier, wiser, better. These remarks will, by many, be thought extravagant; and perhaps not a few of those who have spent more years than I have in the group, will deny their correctness. But they have not, as I have, seen them under all circumstances, at their homes and abroad, eaten of their bread, slept beneath their roofs, journeyed with them, lived with them.



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